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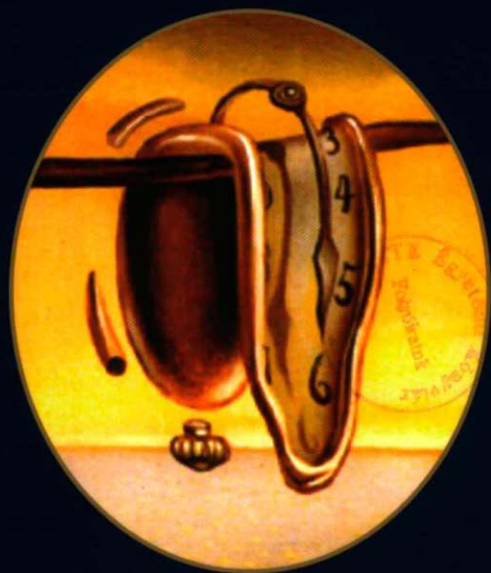
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The nomadic ally of Heraclius

MIHÁLY DOBROVITS



The empire of the Western Turks gained back its international importance during the reign of T'ung shê-hu Khagan (618/619–630). The reconstruction of the name-element *shê-hu* remained in Chinese transcription is *d'ziäp yuo*, from which one can conclude to the form of title *Yabyu*, well-known from the name of Silzibulos. The only difference is that *jawu* or *jiwu* in the name of Silzibulos reconstructed by Ligeti has lost its intervocalic *-γ-*, while it remained in the Chinese transcription. This period left us the first Turkic coin mint to the name of T'ung *Yabyu* Khagan. On the obverse of the coin there is a European-shaped male figure with a bit of Iranian characteristic. The diadem on his head is conjuring the last period of Xusro II. The inscription on the right side of the face is Tokharian *sri iapgu saho*. The obverse also shows the mintplace: the city of Abaršahr. Ghirsman has already indicated that the coin might be assigned to T'ung shê-hu Khagan. Referring to the conclusion of Ghirsman that the city of Abarshahr was not in the hand of the Turks in the T'ung shê-hu period, as it was temporary occupied only after 651, it can be ascertained that the Iranian mintplaces worked for the barbarians, especially for the Hephthalites. Another coin with the Pehlevi inscription "*yyp MLK"n MLK*" was attributed to Khagan T'ung *yabyu* by Harmatta. Also Tibetan sources mentioned him as *Ton yabyo Khagan*. T'ung shê-hu subjugated the T'ieh-lê tribes that soon after 600 rose against the collapsing Turk empire. Thus the empire ruled over the Sogdian cities as well as the Tarim Basin, the Fergana Valley, the upper part of the Indus, while in the west it was bordered by the western territories of the Kaspi, the northern steppes of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. According to Hsüan-tsang the Khagan's summer camp was in the hollow of the Talas river, at a place called 'thousand springs' (*Bing yul*, in Chinese: *Ch'ien-ch'üan*). The first great reorganization of the Western Turks was accomplished under his reign. At first it only affected the nations depending on the empire. The rulers of these tribes had been nominated for *eltübär*, which was the title of leaders of a wing of the T'ieh-lê (*toquz oyuz*) tribes, and parallel with them the power of the Khagans was represented by *tuduns*. The troops of T'ung *Yabyu* played an active role in the last great collision of the Byzantine and Sasanidan weapons, deciding the struggle for Byzantium. According to Teophanes, Ziebel,

the commander of the Khazars, "who owned the second place after the Khagan" was an ally of Heraclius (610–641), the Byzantine Emperor. The phonetic difficulties together with this fact were enough to erase scruple in the identification of Ziebel and T'ung Yabyu proposed by Markwart. A hundred years ago Chavannes identified him as the second in command of the Khazarian Khagan. But in the name of Ziebel the second syllable of the Istemi's Greek name, Silzibulos is clearly recognizable. Another argument is that T'ung Yabyu would have never graded himself after Hsieh-li, who was related to him though, but an enemy as well. This conclusion may be substantiated if it concerned relationship between persons, not titles. The Greek text is a commentary which only stated that "yabyu (in the present transcription: Ζιεβήλ/Ziebél is the second military title in reputation after the Khagan" (τῷ ... στρατηγῷ... Ζιεβήλ ... δευτέρῳ ... τοῦ Χαγάνου τῇ ἀξίᾳ), which is a fact. The conception dated back to Artamonov but worked out in its complete form by Károly Ceglédý which claimed Ziebel as the brother of T'ung shê-hu, who would have ruled also as a Yabyu over the Khazars, and the nephew of his son, mentioned as the "King of the North" in Armenian sources, would have ruled the Turk army of 40,000 given to Heraclius, must be rejected.¹ The coalition of the Byzantine Emperor and the Turkic Khagan is clearly provable also in the Eastern and the Caucasian sources. These are more detailed but also richer in metaphorical expressions than those of Byzantium. According to the notes of Moses Kalankatvac'i in the tenth century Šat', the son of Yebu xak'an is the nephew² of

¹ *Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Textum Graecum continens, Lipsiae 1883, 315–316; vol. 2, Theophanis Vitas, Anastasii Bibliothecarii Historiam tripartitam, dissertationem de codicibus operis Theophanei, indices continens, Lipsiae 1885, 196; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*. An English translation of anni mundi 6095–6305 (602–813 AD), with introduction and notes, by H. Turtledove, Philadelphia 1982, 22; J. Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 394–401, 430, 498; Ghirshman, *Chionites-Hephthalites*, Le Caire 1948, 48–51; K. Ceglédý, "Herakleios török szövetségesei," *Magyar Nyelv* 49 (1953), 319–323; M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia hazar*, Leningrad 1962, 143–148; Artamonov also supposes, that the *jebyu qayan* called Ziebel was Mo-ho šad, the younger brother of T'ung shê-hu; on this person see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. Recueillis et commentés par ... St.-Petersbourg 1903, 55; W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the Twelfth Century. A Brief Political Survey*, The Hague 1964, 57–58; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Über die Wandlungen der Ostgrenze der awarischen Machtsphäre," in L. Ligeti, ed., *Researches in Altaic Languages*. Papers read at the 14th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Budapest 1974, 267–274; J. Harmatta, "Egy nyugati türk uralkodó medaillona Toxaristānból," *Antik Tanulmányok* 28 (1981), 21–29; P. Cannata, *Profilo storico del I° Imperio Turco (metà VI - metà VII secolo)* Roma 1981, 77–78; W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* München 1988, 273; D. Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk Empire," in D. Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge 1990, 308–309; P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Wiesbaden 1992, 135.

² "... the king of the north sent the promised army, pointing his nephew, whom they call Šat' in honour of his princely rank among them, as its leader." *The History of the Cauca-*

the King of the North. In another part of the text the King of the North is titled as the *katsai* of the North.³ Czeglédý's opinion is that the "King of the North" cannot be anyone else just T'ung shê-hu Khagan. Hsieh-li, the eastern Turkic Khagan must be out of question because he was not T'ung shê-hu's brother, furthermore he spent the major part of his life with continuous fighting against him. Determining the "King of the North" as the Chinese Emperor is a palpable mistake. This is the reasoning of Artamonov and Czeglédý that was repeated by Ludwig as well.⁴

In my view this argument is assailable in more than one respect and instead we should turn back to the standpoint of the Russian Byzantologist, Kulakowski, whose opinion is that T'ung shê-hu, the Western Turk Khagan formed an alliance with Heraclius, while Hsieh-li, the eastern Turk Khagan might have been the "King of the North".⁵ On the other hand Czeglédý insists that Hsieh-li could not rule over the independent Western Turks any more, therefore Kulakowski was wrong here. The problem is that our sources show far less than this argument suggests.

1. In accordance with Nikephoros, Heraclius was looking for an alliance with "the Lord of the Turks" with his presents.⁶

2. The Armenian sources claimed Jebu xak'an as the procurator of the "King of the North", the second ruler of his empire, but on whom rested decisions to campaign.⁷

3. It is known from Chinese sources that Western Turk emperors kept the title of *Bayatur Yabyu* after they obtained the title of Khagan. In spite of the empire of the Eastern Turks where *Yabyu* remained an independent position, in the Western Turks' empire only Khagans could have this title, nobody else. Only a few exceptions are known, e.g. A-shih-na Hu-lu, who was invested with power as Tu-lu Yabyu – instead of A-shih-na Pu-chen, who escaped to China –, and thus ruled over the Ch'u-mi, Chu-yüé, Ku-su and the Qarluq tribes, a state of Tokharestan

sian Albanians by M. Dasxuranci. Tr. by C. F. J. Downsett, London 1961, 88; see also M. K. Patkanian, "Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides d'après leur renseignement fournis par les histoires Arméniens," traduit du Russe par M. Évariste Proud'homme, *Journal Asiatique*, ser 6, 7 (1866), 207.

³ In Downsett's translation "the cauldron of the north."

⁴ D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen*, Münster 1982, 348–354.

⁵ Ju. Kulakovskij, *Istorija Vizantii III*, Kiev 1915, 57–91.

⁶ *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, 15; A. Bombaci, "Qui était Jebu xak'an," *Turcica* 2 (1970), 12.

⁷ When the viceroy of the king of the north (*yaord ark'ayin hiwsisoy*) who was second to him in kingship (*erkrord t'aganworut'ean nora*) and was called Jebu Xak'an heard this and considered the promise of the loot to be had by attacking all the countries subject to the king of Persia he replied with great eagerness ... Czeglédý, *Herakleios*, 319; Artamonov, *Istorija hazar*, 145; the expression of the Armenian chronicle "second to him in kingship" is merely a translation of the Greek δευτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ Χαγάνου τῇ ἀξία, cf. Downsett, *The History*, 87 (in the notes) and Bombaci, *Qui était*, 7.

and over a Western Turkic alliance of tribes called Nu-shi-pi. His dwelling was in the hollow of the river Talas.⁸ But this *yabyu* appeared only after the reign of T'ung shê-hu, and under his rule no Chinese sources – or any other source – mentioned two *yabyus* wielding power simultaneously. With regard to the Khazars, Dunlop rightly called the attention to the fact that there is no sign of any *yabyu* amongst them at all.⁹

4. Moses Kalankatvac'i states that the son of Ziebel, Šat' is the nephew of the King of the North. He was the lord of the Khazars (Šat' Xazr)¹⁰ according to the sources. It is however known that title *šad* hiding behind this name could be given to the aristocratic male line of the khagan's clan, especially to those who owned a private *ordu*. After 635 among the Western Turks the title was given to the officials from the khagan's clan, who were superior to the tribal aristocracy invested with the rank *čor* or *erkin*.

5. According to the T'ang-su Chapter of CCXXI it was T'ung shê-hu himself, who devastated Persia, killed its king named K'u-sa-ho (Xusrō), and enthroned his son, Si-li (Kavad Siroe II).¹¹

6. Before describing Heraclius' journey to Jerusalem, Nikephoros mentioned that the emperor recalled his daughter already promised to the Turkic leader, because the Khagan was killed. Concerning T'ung shê-hu it is known that his Qarluq subjects revolted against his rule in 630, and finally he was murdered by his own uncle.¹² Moses Kalankatvac'i also brings up that in 629, at the time of the

⁸ Chavannes, *Documents*, 32–33, 34–38; Bombaci, *Qui était*, 17–18.

⁹ D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 31.

¹⁰ "... Jebu Xak'an arrived with his son ..."; "... the king of the north sent the promised army, appointing his nephew, whom they call Šat' in honour of his princely rank among them, as its leader." "he returned home, leaving his warlike forces in the hands of his son, Šat' with brave men as his advisers..."; "... the king's son Šat'"; "I [i. e. Šat'] shall swear on oath on the life of my father Jebu Xak'an..."; He [Viro *katholikos*] liberated the prisoners of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania from Šat' Xazr." Downsett, *The History*, 83, 88, 95, 98, 100, 229.

¹¹ Chavannes, *Documents*, 24, 52; J. Harmatta, "Late Bactrian inscriptions," *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 17 (1969), 404; according to Canatta the subsidiary troops could be led only by a Khazar chief, while T'ung shê-hu was fighting on the eastern ends of the empire, and vehemently attacked the Persians; Cannata, *Profilo storico*, 78.

¹² *Nicephori ... Opuscula historica*, 22; The news of his death was sent to China by his uncle, cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 25 (KTS), 53–54 (HTS), 256; the information of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* about the *hsüe-yen-t'o* people declare that the Khagan was killed in the second year of the Chêng-kuan period (2 February 628–29 January 629) LMT, 354; but as Chavannes pointed out (*Documents*, 95, 194), the biography of Hsüan-chang by Hu-li mentions a meeting between him or at least a khagan titled as Yeh-hu – and Hsüan-chang in the end of 629 or in the beginning of 630. The biography also tells that at the end of his life he must have been faced with the rebellion of his son, cf. *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*. (trans. S. Beal) vol. I, London 1884, 27–28, 45; *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li*. London 1911, 42–44, 45; Franke sets the date of the Khagan according to the dynastic chronicles to 628; O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches. Eine Darstellung seiner Entstehung, seines*

Khazar *šad*'s campaign, "the King of the North started to avenge the sins thousandfold". This led Czeglédý to the conclusion that in 629 the rebellion was aimed at Ziebel, which was followed by an uprising against T'ung shê-hu and the collapse of the Western Turkic empire.¹³ In 630 it was the Eastern and not the Western Khaganate which collapsed. Another fact is that the ceremonious enter of Heraclius in Jerusalem could not have happened in 629, as Czeglédý claimed, for at that time he only carried on negotiations about the return of the city, but his visit took place only in March, 630 during the Easter holidays, when the crucifix of Christ was restored. Eudokia, his daughter could not leave the city much earlier either.¹⁴

7. In connection with the *katsai* of the north it is worth mentioning China here. Czeglédý declares that according to the report of Sebeos the head of the troops helping to Heraclius was *ĵepetux* (*Čepetux*), a general of the Western Turkic khagan, and his state is named Cenastan. In the exact description one can read that the Armenian aristocracy (*naxarar*) had arisen against the Persians after the death of Smbat Bagratuni, and for the intervention of the *Tčepetux* of China they were taken into the service of Xak'an, the King of the North. Under his control they were migrating from the east to the west in order to join the military force of Tčepetux, then they marched in large numbers to the assistance of the Greek Emperor.¹⁵ Tabari's opinion is similar, he claimed that Fayfūra was the brother of Šāba, the ruler of the Turks, who was supposed to be an opponent of Bahrām Čōbin. This name is obviously a variant of the Arabic "*fayfūr*", a derivation of the Parthian "*βaypūr*", and as a calque from the Chinese T'ien-tzu (the Son of the Heaven) it is the name of the Chinese emperor. It is quite true, that two decades

Wesens und seiner Entwicklung bis zur neuesten Zeit, Bd. II: *Der konfuzianische Staat I*, *Der Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, Berlin 1961, 353.

¹³ "Then the cauldron of the north turned his countenance against his sons and fought against his own kin, visiting the fullness of his wrath upon his young and punishing one (crime) a thousandfold and two, ten thousandfold (...) terrible news arrived from the destructive lion of the north, Jebu Xak'an himself, to his ravenous whelp Sat: 'Brigands have fallen upon me' he said 'and you shall never see my face again, for I did not consolidate my position but imprudently dissipated myself over kingdoms unsuited to me. My pride has thus caused me to fall from my exalted position.'" Downsett, *The History*, 106; According to Czeglédý (Herakleios, 323) the ruin of Jebu Xak'an is that he wanted to dominate the kingdom was unsuited to him, and therefore the hand of T'ung shê-hu had crushed him. But Bombaci (Qui était, 22) demonstrates that the *katsai* of the north and the lion of the north are the same person in this text.

¹⁴ Nicephori ... *Opuscula Historica*, 22; Kulakovskij, *Istorija Vizantii III*, 115-117, 269-275; A. Frolov, "La Vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Heraclius en Perse," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 11 (1953), 93; A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century I*: 612-334, transl. M. Ogilvie-Grant, Amsterdam 1968, 245-255; Bombaci, *Qui était*, 23-24; M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, 600-1025, London 1996, 80.

¹⁵ *Istorija episkopa Sebeosa*, per. St. Malhasjanc, Erevan 1939, 61; Czeglédý, Herakleios, 323; Bombaci, *Qui était*, 7; Patkanian's opinion (*Histoire*, 196) was that after Smat Bagratuni's death the "Khagans of the the northern countries" detailed the Armenian troops under the Chinese general *ĵepetux* of China (*Djepetoukh de Chine*).

after the events mentioned above, the territories of the Western Turkic Khaganate were annexed by the T'ang China that reached its zenith of power at this time. In connection with this Marquart's opinion should be mentioned, who argues that the *katsai* is in fact nothing else than a false transcription of the title of the Chinese emperor that was written by Theophylaktos Simokattes as "Ταϊσάβ". Comparing to the conciseness of his work, Czeglédy discussed in detail that the "Katsai of the North" is an expression of scriptural origin, the "cauldron of the north" references a nomadic menace, and by saying this he paid no more attention to a possible Chinese connection;¹⁶ understandably so, for the Bugut inscription ascribed for 670–680, was discovered two decades after his paper was published.¹⁷ According to the first line of the text (B1,1) the inscription was made by the Turks, under the reign *Kwts'tt*, the Chinese Emperor. Following Yakhontov, the publishers of the inscription only said that the identification of this title with the temple names of the Chinese Emperors Kao-tsu or Kao-tsung of the T'ang period is not possible.¹⁸ But the evidential similarity of the two names leads us to the idea that in the Armenian "*katsai* of the north", – with a scriptural contamination – a reference to the Chinese emperor has been kept.

There were not two *yabyu* khagans, from which one would have been Ziebel, the *yabyu* of the Khazars, and the other the legendary "King of the North" ruling the Northern Empire. From our sources it turns out that it was T'ung shê-hu Khagan himself, who made an alliance with Heraclius, and according to his coin, he himself bore the title of *yabyu*. It is also quite possible that the historians who lived in the tenth century, in the last century of the Khazar reign, were simply confused by the memory of the almost five-hundred years earlier unified Turkic realm and by the changes that happened in the life of Western Turkic leaders. The formulas related to the second man after the king in his empire are an attempt to explain the original state of the rank *yabyu*, and are partly extrapolations of an earlier situation, relating to the relations of power of the unified Turkic khaganate. According to these, Eudokia returned to her father because of the death of the T'ung shê-hu khagan, and not because of a non-existing Khazar *yabyu*. Her unsuccessful attempt cut the line between the Greek-Roman and the Inner Asian civilizations, that had been united since the Hellenic period. At her return, the Arabs professing Islam were already lurking behind the desert borders, to rush out shortly from the obscurity to overthrow both Byzantium and his ancient enemy.

¹⁶ The name *Taïōāv* was elucidated from the name of T'ai-tsung who accepted a Byzantine embassy in 643 by N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien. Aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert*, Berlin–Amsterdam 1969, 171; Czeglédy, Herakleios, 321–322.

¹⁷ S. G. Kljaštornyj, and V. A. Livšic, "The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 26 (1972), 69–102.

¹⁸ Kljaštornyj–Livšic, Bugut, 72.

L'ensemble du pays de Turquie

FERENC MAKK



L'installation des Hongrois dirigés par Árpád dans leur future patrie (*Honfoglalás*) soulève encore aujourd'hui de nombreuses controverses dans l'historiographie. Parmi les questions débattues, deux suscitent une attention particulière, d'autant qu'elles sont étroitement liées. Quels territoires les Hongrois conquérants ont-ils occupés ou se sont-ils appropriés, à leur arrivée dans le bassin des Carpathes (à l'intérieur comme éventuellement aux marges de celui-ci) ? Dans quels secteurs s'installèrent les différentes tribus de la fédération hongroise, autrement dit où se trouvait la zone d'habitat de chacune des dix tribus (sept hongroises et trois kavares) ?

De nombreuses réponses ont été apportées, non sans contradictions, par les historiens au cours du temps.¹ Cet état de la recherche obligeait il y a quelques années un éminent spécialiste de la conquête hongroise à exprimer l'opinion selon laquelle l'étude de l'installation des Hongrois serait désormais l'affaire des archéologues et des anthropologues, et non plus des historiens. La science historique, se fondant sur les sources écrites, n'aurait plus aucun rôle à jouer dans ces recherches. Selon son argumentation, « les perspectives de la science historique proprement dite paraissent épuisées par rapport aux sources, puisque les sources historiques utilisées jusqu'à présent n'ont pu apporter de solution effective au problème étudié. »² Si ce constat négatif s'applique en priorité à la localisation des tribus hongroises, il peut aussi être étendu à la première interrogation posée au tout début de cet article.

Contrairement à cette vision pessimiste, je pense que les historiens disposent encore aujourd'hui de moyens permettant d'esquisser, sinon dans les moindres

¹ Évidemment, la question de l'emplacement géographique des tribus ne se pose même pas pour les historiens selon lesquels les tribus n'existaient plus chez les Hongrois à l'époque de la conquête. Voir par exemple K. Mesterházy, « A magyar honfoglalás régészetének ötven éve » [Cinquante ans de l'archéologie de la conquête hongroise], *Századok* 127 (1993), 295.

² Gy. Kristó, « A honfoglalók megtelepedése a Kárpát-medencében » [L'établissement des conquérants dans le bassin des Carpathes] in L. Veszprémy, dir., *Honfoglaló ősünk* [Nos ancêtres les conquérants], Budapest 1996 (dans ce qui suit : Kristó 1996), 216–217.

détails, du moins dans ses grandes lignes, la répartition des tribus magyares dans l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes, et ceci à l'aide des données d'une seule *source écrite*. (Certes, dans l'état actuel des choses, je ne vois guère de possibilité de préciser séparément, en utilisant des sources écrites, les zones d'habitat de chacune des tribus hongroises à l'époque de la conquête et pendant le X^e siècle.)

La source écrite évoquée est un ouvrage de langue grecque portant le nom de l'empereur byzantin Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (944–959), dont le titre en latin est *De administrando imperio* (DAI). C'est cet empereur (ou *basileus*) savant qui a rédigé (ou fait rédiger par ses collaborateurs) cette œuvre d'une importance fondamentale du point de vue de l'histoire ancienne des Hongrois, au milieu du X^e siècle. La rédaction de ce manuel de diplomatie secrète a été terminée au plus tard vers 952.³

Le souverain byzantin fournit dans son œuvre *deux types* de localisation de la terre des Hongrois. Le premier est une localisation en fonction des *points cardinaux* (ou bien d'après les peuples avoisinants), tandis que le second se fait en prenant comme points de repères les *rivières*. Je voudrais préciser ici les fonctions de ces deux types de description géographique et les liens qui les unissent.⁴

1. La localisation d'après les *points cardinaux* (et les peuples voisins) est donnée en deux occurrences dans le DAI ; d'abord dans le chapitre 13, puis dans le chapitre 40.

Selon la description du chapitre 13 :

« Les peuples suivants sont limitrophes des Turks [les Hongrois] : sur les territoires se situant à l'Ouest par rapport à eux, le pays des Francs, au Nord les Petchenègues, dans les régions du sud la Grande Moravie, c'est-à-dire le pays de Svatopluk, que ces mêmes Turks ont entièrement ravagé et occupé. Du côté des montagnes, les Croates sont les voisins des Turks. »⁵

³ Édition bilingue gréco-anglaise : Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1967 (dans ce qui suit : DAI). Gy. Moravcsik, éd., *Bíborbanszületett Konstantin: A birodalom kormányzása* [Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De l'Administration de l'Empire*], Budapest 1950. Pour la datation, voir Gy. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori történet bizánci forrásai* [Les sources byzantines de l'histoire hongroise de l'époque des Árpád], Budapest 1984, 131.

⁴ La double localisation avait déjà attiré l'attention des historiens. Voir à ce sujet G. Fehér, « Magyarország területe Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos *De administrando imperio*-ja alapján » [Le territoire de la Hongrie d'après Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De administrando imperio*], *Századok* 55–56 (1921–1922) (dans ce qui suit : Fehér 1921–1922). Il y a quelques années, une étude entière a été aussi consacrée à ce sujet par S. L. Tóth, « A konstantinosi 'Turkia' értelmezéséhez » [Contribution à l'interprétation de la « Turkie » de Constantin], *Magyar Nyelv* 92 (1996) (dans ce qui suit : Tóth 1996), 54–63. Voir encore Gy. Kristó, « Regino és a magyar honfoglalás » [Reginon et la conquête hongroise] in F. Makk, I. Tar, Gy. Wojtilla, dir., *Studia Varia. Tanulmányok Szádeczky-Kardoss Samu nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Mélanges offerts à Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss à l'occasion de son 80^e anniversaire], Szeged 1998 (dans ce qui suit : Kristó 1998a), 93.

⁵ Texte grec : DAI, 64. Pour traduire le texte grec, nous nous sommes appuyés sur le texte hongrois de l'édition de 1950.

Parmi les voisins énumérés dans la description, le pays des Francs, donc le Royaume Franc de l'Est se trouvait effectivement à l'Ouest du territoire occupé par les Hongrois. On doit comprendre sous l'expression des Croates « du côté des montagnes » les habitants de la Principauté (ou Royaume) Croate, située au Sud-ouest. On trouve cependant des éléments problématiques dans l'orientation géographique. Les Petchenègues d'Etelköz vivaient non pas au Nord, mais à l'Est des Hongrois, entre les Carpathes et le fleuve Dniepr. La question de la Grande Moravie ouvre un autre débat. J'adhère personnellement à la conception selon laquelle il existait, à l'image des deux Serbies et des deux Croaties, une Moravie du Nord et une autre du Sud (ou Grande Moravie). Cette dernière se trouvait à l'origine dans la région (comprise au sens le plus large) des rivières Save et Morava, avec pour centre *Sirmium*, et s'étendait jusqu'au sud du pays entre le Danube et la Tisza.⁶ Sa partie située au nord de la Save a été occupée par les Hongrois, alors que les régions situées au sud de la Save et du Bas-Danube demeuraient habitées par des Moraves. C'est pour cette raison que, dans l'extrait du DAI cité ici, l'empereur présente les habitants de ces terres moraves du Sud comme les voisins méridionaux des Hongrois au milieu du Xe siècle.⁷ D'après cela, on peut affirmer que les peuples (ou pays) mentionnés avaient une frontière commune avec les Hongrois et habitaient en dehors du bassin des Carpathes. Il s'ensuit que, toujours selon ce passage du DAI, la terre des Hongrois correspondait au bassin des Carpathes.⁸ Cette conception est totalement confirmée par la description qu'on peut lire dans le chapitre 40 du DAI :

« A proximité des Turks se trouvent à l'Est les Bulgares, séparés par le fleuve Istros, appelé aussi Danube, au Nord les Petchenègues, plus à l'Ouest les Francs, et au Sud les Croates. »⁹

L'orientation est inexacte cette fois aussi, puisque les Bulgares habitaient plutôt au Sud-est, les Petchenègues à l'Est et les Croates au Sud-ouest des Hongrois ; seule la localisation occidentale des Francs peut-être considérée comme correcte.¹⁰ Cependant, si l'on tient compte des liens historiques et politiques de l'époque, on ne contestera pas qu'il s'agissait ici aussi des peuples limitrophes des Hongrois et vivant hors du bassin des Carpathes. Cette description définit donc également

⁶ P. Püspöki Nagy, « Nagymorávia fekvéséről » [De l'emplacement de la Grande Moravie], *Valóság* 21 (11/1978) (dans ce qui suit : Püspöki Nagy 1978), 62, 74-76.

⁷ Sur le territoire morave situé au sud de la Save et du Bas-Danube et ses habitants, voir Fehér 1921-1922, 368-370 ; I. Boba, *Morávia története új megvilágításban* [Nouvel éclairage sur l'histoire de la Moravie], Budapest 1996, 18, 82.

⁸ Par ex. M. Gyóni, *Magyarország és a magyarság a bizánci források tükrében* [La Hongrie et les Hongrois dans les sources byzantines], Budapest 1938, 22 ; Tóth 1996, 62 ; Gy. Kristó, *Szent István király* [Le roi saint Étienne], Budapest 2001 (dans ce qui suit : Kristó 2001), 14.

⁹ DAI, 178.

¹⁰ Il est possible que l'origine du problème vienne de ce que l'on ne connaissait pas encore les *points cardinaux secondaires* à l'époque de la rédaction de la DAI. Cela a pu provoquer une différence d'un huitième de cercle. Fehér 1921-1922, 378-379.

l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes comme étant le pays des Hongrois contemporains de Constantin VII.

2. La localisation selon les rivières se trouve au chapitre 40 :

« Les Turks, chassés par les Petchenègues, partirent et s'installèrent sur la terre qu'ils habitent maintenant. Il y a certains vestiges anciens dans ce lieu. Le premier où commence la Turquie [la Hongrie] est le pont de l'empereur Trajan [la Porte de fer]. De ce pont, on arrive en trois jours jusqu'à Belgrade, où se trouve aussi la tour du saint empereur Constantin le Grand. Se trouve également au détour de ce fleuve [du Danube] la soi-disant *Sirmium* [près de la Save], d'où l'on peut atteindre Belgrade en deux jours ; et, au-delà, la Grande Moravie non christianisée, que les Turks ont anéantie et où régnait auparavant Svatopluk.

Voici les vestiges et localités situés le long du fleuve Istros. Ce qui se trouve au Nord par rapport à eux, là où il y a l'ensemble du pays de la Turquie, se fait appeler à notre période d'après les noms des rivières. Ces rivières sont : tout d'abord le Temes, en second lieu le Toutis [la Béga ?] ; la troisième est le Maros, la quatrième le Körös, et une autre rivière s'appelle la Tisza. »¹¹

Il est évident que, du point de vue de la localisation et de l'étendue du territoire, cette description n'est pas conforme aux deux précédentes. Celles-ci comprennent tout le bassin des Carpathes, alors que selon celle-là, la terre des Hongrois ne s'étend qu'à une partie du bassin des Carpathes. Donc le territoire appelé Turquie par l'empereur – avec, au centre, la région de la rivière Tisza – a une étendue bien plus petite que celle du bassin des Carpathes, et n'en comprend qu'une partie.

Différentes propositions ont été faites pour supprimer les contradictions évidentes des deux types de localisation géographique.

Nombre de chercheurs ont affirmé que le territoire évoqué sous le nom de Turquie était la zone d'habitat d'une seule tribu hongroise. On a pensé le plus souvent à la tribu des *gyula*,¹² plus rarement à celle des Árpád ;¹³ et même à celle nommée tribu *Ajtony*.¹⁴ Il existe aussi une opinion selon laquelle la Turquie déterminée par les cinq rivières n'était pas le quartier d'une seule tribu, mais de

¹¹ DAI, 176, 178.

¹² Ainsi par ex. P. Váczy, « Gyula és Ajtony » [Gyula et Ajtony] in L. Szilágyi, dir., *Emlékkönyv Szentpétery Imre születésének hatvanadik évfordulójára* [Mélanges offerts au 60^e anniversaire d'Imre Szentpétery], Budapest 1938 (dans ce qui suit : Váczy 1938), 489–491 ; Gy. Moravcsik, *Bizánc és a magyarság* [Byzance et les Hongrois], Budapest 1953 (dans ce qui suit : Moravcsik 1953), 47 ; I. Bóna, *A magyarok és Európa a 9–10. században* [Les Hongrois et l'Europe aux IX^e–X^e siècles], Budapest 2000, 64.

¹³ Voir par ex. A. Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép* [Les Hongrois de la conquête], Budapest 1996, 271.

¹⁴ B. Kürti, « Honfoglalók a Maros-torok táján » [Des conquérants aux environs de l'embouchure du Maros] in L. Kovács, dir., *Honfoglalás és régészet* [Conquête et archéologie], Budapest 1994, 169.

quelques-unes, voire de plusieurs.¹⁵ D'après le texte du DAI, toutes ces positions se révèlent pourtant intenable, puisque le *basileus* désigne le territoire en question en tant que l'ensemble du pays de Turquie, donc l'habitat de tous les Hongrois, c'est-à-dire de toutes les tribus.

D'autres chercheurs voient dans le territoire de la Turquie la zone où vivait l'ensemble de la fédération tribale hongroise ; il correspondait donc au territoire de la Principauté Hongroise du temps de la conquête, vers 900, lorsque les Hongrois n'avaient pas encore franchi la ligne du Danube vers l'Ouest. C'est justement pour cette raison que cette région a une étendue moins grande que celle du milieu du Xe siècle, bien plus importante puisqu'elle comprenait l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes.¹⁶ Cette opinion ne peut pourtant pas être défendue, car le *basileus* désigne la terre de Turquie, donc la région des rivières mentionnées, comme l'habitat de tous les Hongrois dans le contexte du milieu du Xe siècle. Donc cette description vaut uniquement pour le milieu du Xe siècle, tout comme celle faite en fonction des *points cardinaux*, comprenant l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes.

D'après une opinion assez répandue, l'empereur byzantin n'avait pas connaissance de l'ensemble du territoire où vivaient les Hongrois ; il ne disposait de données géographiques précises qu'à propos de la partie méridionale de celui-ci, située plus près de son empire. Pour cette raison, il aurait considéré la région des rivières susmentionnées, sous le nom de *Turkie*, comme l'ensemble de l'habitat des Hongrois, au lieu du territoire réel.¹⁷ Je pense cependant que pour comprendre ce texte, il ne faut pas avoir recours au principe du *pars pro toto*. Il faudrait plutôt examiner l'étendue du territoire décrit par le DAI et se demander si cette terre avait réellement été l'habitat de l'ensemble de la fédération des tribus hongroises.

L'évocation de ces questions me permet d'exprimer ma propre opinion. A mon avis, contrairement à la conception répandue, la Turquie ne désignait pas seulement la région de cinq rivières (donc le Temes, le Toutis-Béga, le Maros, le Körös et la Tisza). Elle englobait aussi, à l'opposé de l'interprétation traditionnelle, non seulement la terre s'étendant des Körös jusqu'au Bas-Danube, dont la frontière était la Tisza à l'Ouest, et, dans ses grandes lignes, les Montagnes de Transylvanie à l'Est.¹⁸ Selon moi, la Turquie de Constantin comprenait un territoire bien plus grand que celui-ci.

¹⁵ Voir par ex. Tóth 1996, 61–62.

¹⁶ Voir à ce sujet par ex. J. B. Bury, « The Treatise De administrando imperio », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 (1906), 564 ; L. Elekes, E. Léderer, Gy. Székely, *Magyarország története I. Az őskortól 1526-ig* [Histoire de la Hongrie. Tome I : De la préhistoire à 1526], deuxième édition, Budapest 1972, 46 (la partie en question était écrite par Gy. Székely) ; Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [La genèse des Hongrois de la conquête], éd. Á. Berta, Budapest 1991 (dans ce qui suit : Németh 1991), 239–240.

¹⁷ Moravcsik 1953, 47 ; Kristó 1980, 452 ; Tóth 1996, 62.

¹⁸ Cf. Váczy 1938, 489–491 ; Gy. Bónis, *István király* [Le roi Étienne], Budapest 1956, 42–43 ; Németh 1991, 240–241.

Le DAI marque exactement la frontière méridionale de la Turquie. Voici la traduction du passage en question du chapitre 40 :

« Les Turks, chassés par les Petchenègues, partirent et s'installèrent sur la terre qu'ils habitent maintenant. Il y a certains vestiges anciens dans ce lieu. Le premier où commence la Turquie est le pont de l'empereur Trajan. De ce pont, on arrive en trois jours jusqu'à Belgrade (...). Il se trouve également au détour de ce fleuve [du Danube] la soi-disant Sirmium, d'où l'on peut atteindre Belgrade en deux jours (...); et, au-delà [vers le nord], l'ensemble de l'habitat des Hongrois. »¹⁹

Donc la ligne reliant la Porte de fer à Belgrade et à *Sirmium* – en suivant le Bas-Danube et la Save – constituait la frontière méridionale du territoire habité par les Hongrois. La terre de Turquie, comme le passage cité du DAI l'a clairement précisé, se trouve au Nord par rapport à celle-ci. A mon avis, la frontière occidentale de cette Turquie est donnée par la ligne nord-sud du Danube. Ceci découle en partie de ce que Sirmie est présentée comme l'extrémité occidentale de la frontière méridionale, au nord de laquelle habitent les Hongrois d'après notre source. Le caractère de frontière occidentale du Danube est également confirmé par un autre passage du DAI :

« Les Turks habitent au-delà du fleuve Danube, sur la terre de la Moravie ; mais en deçà aussi, entre le Danube et la rivière Save. »²⁰

Cette terre de la Moravie était un territoire de la Moravie du Sud (ou Grande Moravie), qui se trouvait au nord non seulement de la Save, mais aussi du cours du Danube et que les Hongrois – comme je viens de le mentionner – avaient occupé jusqu'à la Save.²¹ La région entre le Danube et la Save correspond à la Sirmie, limitée au sud par la Save et au nord par la section du Danube entre Valkóvár et Szalánkemén.²² Donc, d'après le chapitre 42, des Hongrois habitaient au-delà (c'est-à-dire au nord) de cette section, et comme sa frontière vers le nord était le Danube, le cours nord-sud du Danube devait constituer la frontière naturelle de l'ensemble du territoire du quartier de Turquie au nord de la Sirmie.²³

¹⁹ DAI, 176.

²⁰ DAI, 182.

²¹ Voir note 6.

²² A mon avis, la conception identifiant la région entre le Danube et la Save à l'ensemble de la Pannonie (et, avant tout, à la Transdanubie) est fautive. Cf. Tóth 1996, 57, 62. Dans le chapitre 40, le *basileus* précise clairement que l'extrémité occidentale de la frontière sud de la Turquie était Sirmium (Sirmie), au bord du fleuve, à deux jours de marche de Belgrade. On ne peut donc placer l'habitat des Hongrois dans les régions occidentales se situant loin de la Sirmie. Voir aussi à ce sujet : Püspöki Nagy 1975, 63, 74 ; Kristó 1980, 163.

²³ La note musulmane sur les Hongrois datée probablement de 942 confirme l'appartenance du cours nord-sud du Danube au territoire habité par les Hongrois au milieu du X^e siècle. Ibn Hayyan écrit des Hongrois nommés Turks : « leurs quartiers se situent près du Danube ; ils sont eux-mêmes nomades comme les Bédouins. » Gy. Kristó, dir., *A honfoglalás*

Il n'est pas aussi facile de tracer la frontière orientale de l'ensemble du territoire du pays de Turquie. Je pense que, en suivant la conception du DAI fondée sur les rivières, elle pourrait être tracée par une ligne droite partant de la Porte de fer (du Bas-Danube), extrémité orientale de la frontière sud jusqu'au cours supérieur de la rivière Tisza, mentionnée en dernier lieu. Ceci sur la base de fouilles archéologiques extrêmement riches montrant que la région de la Haute-Tisza appartenait à l'ensemble du territoire habité par les Hongrois.²⁴

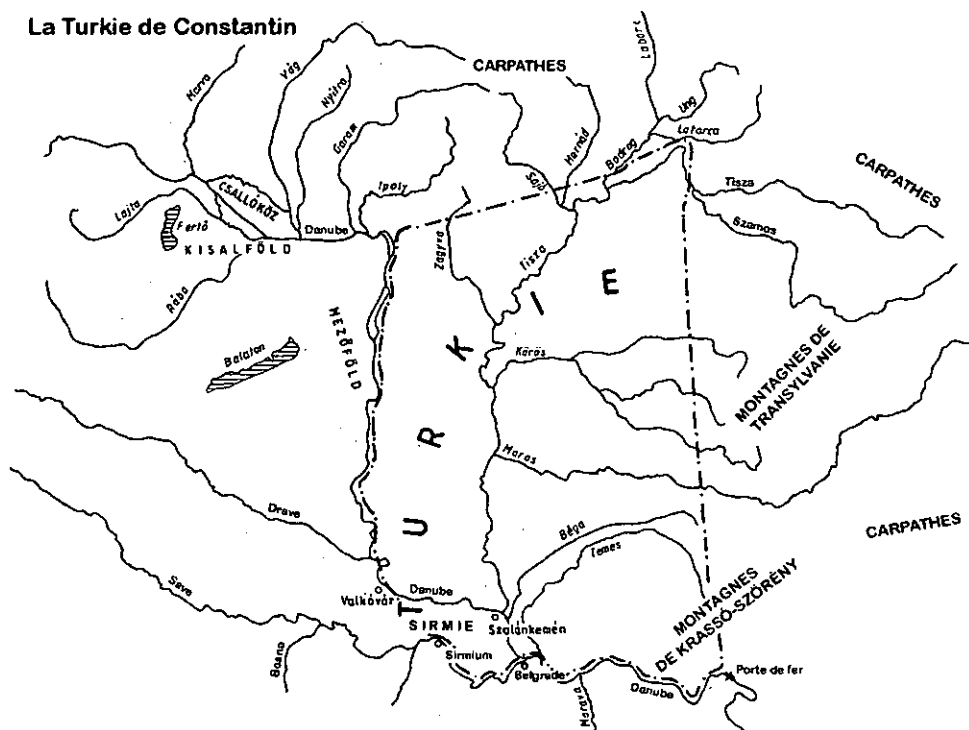
On doit souligner au sujet de la description de la Turquie selon les rivières que l'empereur ne parle pas de cinq rivières, mais de sept. Pour cette raison, on ne doit pas appeler la Turquie la région des cinq rivières. Ces sept rivières sont : le Danube (le Bas-Danube), la Save, le Temes, le Toutis (la Bega ?), le Maros, le Körös et la Tisza. La rivière centrale, aussi bien que l'axe de l'ensemble du territoire du quartier était sans doute la Tisza, de Titel jusqu'à la région de la Haute-Tisza. Le territoire de la Turquie ne se terminait pas au Körös, puisque, d'après l'énumération du DAI, il y avait encore une autre rivière (nouvelle !) au-delà du Körös, la Tisza. Cela signifie que le cours supérieur de la Tisza (au-delà du Körös) doit être considéré de la même façon que les quatre rivières précédentes (ou leurs sections). Ainsi la Tisza doit être considérée dans la description comme une rivière de frontière est-ouest, de même les quatre rivières dans leurs propres emplacements géographiques.

A partir de tous ces éléments, j'ai déterminé l'étendue et l'emplacement géographique de la Turquie de Constantin selon les données réunies sur la carte ci-jointe.

lás korának írott forrásai [Sources écrites de l'époque de la conquête], Szeged 1995 (dans ce qui suit : HOKIF), 65. (Traduction d'I. Elter.)

²⁴ Sur l'importance archéologique de la région du cours supérieur de la Tisza, voir, L. Révész, *A karosi honfoglaláskori temetők. Régészeti adatok a Felső-Tisza-vidék X. századi történetéhez. Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei*, vol. 1, [Les cimetières de l'époque de la conquête de Karos. Données sur l'histoire de la région de la Haute-Tisza au Xe siècle. Les fouilles funéraires de Hongrie de l'époque de la conquête et des premiers Arpadiens, tome I], Miskolc 1996, 198–202.

La Turquie de Constantin



Nous pouvons ainsi affirmer que la Turquie de Constantin comprenait la Sirmie, la région entre le Danube et la Tisza, la région du Temes et les territoires situés à l'Est de la Tisza (en hongrois : *Tiszántúl*). D'après les données de l'empereur, elle ne s'étendait point à des territoires extérieurs. Par conséquent, je ne peux accepter les vues qui identifient la Turquie de Constantin soit à l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes, soit à toute sa moitié orientale.²⁵ Quelques précisions et ajouts seront bientôt apportés par l'application de nouveaux points de vue ; il est cependant évident que la Turquie s'étendait à un territoire bien plus grand que celui que proposait la conception traditionnelle, partant de la dénomination de cinq rivières.

Pourtant, la nouvelle localisation et la nouvelle étendue n'éliminent toujours pas la contradiction selon laquelle même le territoire élargi de la Turquie ne correspond guère au bassin des Carpathes ; sa taille est bien moins grande que celui-ci. Comment expliquer cette différence et résoudre la contradiction pour le milieu du X^e siècle ?

L'historiographie récente a démontré que, dans le cas des Hongrois du bassin des Carpathes, on observe des différences entre le *territoire de domination* (que les Hongrois avaient sous leur dominance et leur contrôle militaire) et la *terre d'habitat*, cette dernière désignant la région où les Hongrois s'étaient réellement établis, qu'ils avaient, en tant que peuple nomade, réellement occupée et habitée.

²⁵ Voir par ex. L. Várady, « Revision des Ungarn-Image von Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 82 (1989), (dans ce qui suit : Várady 1989), 48, et Fehér 1921-1922, 360.

Selon cette conception, les Hongrois nomadisant à cheval ont occupé lors de la conquête, avec les Kavars, presque l'ensemble du bassin des Carpathes, et ont même étendu la domination de la fédération des tribus hongroises, par la prise en possession des parties occidentales de la Moravie du nord, et des terres franques entre les rivières Leitha et Enns, aux territoires situés à l'extérieur du bassin des Carpathes, sans les avoir occupés ou habités.²⁶ Je pense que la localisation d'après les *points cardinaux* (et les peuples voisins) du DAI se rapporte à ce territoire, d'une vaste étendue, et avant tout au bassin des Carpathes – elle désigne et définit le *territoire de domination* des Hongrois de la conquête.²⁷

Cependant, les tribus hongroises nomades n'ont directement occupé et habité que les terres où ils pouvaient continuer, pendant une durée plus ou moins longue, leur vie de nomades à cheval. Naturellement, pour l'élevage nomade, seules les plaines (donc les régions type la Grande Plaine) étaient des territoires adaptés. Pour cette raison, les Hongrois nomades s'installèrent sur ces territoires, ils y habitaient, ces terres constituant leur habitat réel.²⁸

A mon avis, la localisation d'après les *rivières* du DAI voulait désigner cette *zone d'habitat*.²⁹ Ceci illustre le fait que le *basileus* était conscient de la différence entre la zone de domination et l'habitat des Hongrois (ou du moins qu'il en avait l'impression, sinon l'expérience).³⁰ La Turquie de Constantin définit bien dans ses grandes lignes la zone d'habitat des Hongrois ; on doit cependant la préciser sur trois points. A cause du mode de vie nomade, les confins orientaux de la Turquie s'étendaient jusqu'à la frontière est de la région de la rive gauche de la Tisza et du Temes, les régions montagneuses se situant à l'Est (les montagnes de Krassó-

²⁶ Gy. Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie Médiévale*. Tome I : *Le temps des Arpads*, Rennes 2000, 19 sqq.

²⁷ Un *lapsus calami* a dû faire que Gy. Kristó, contrairement à son opinion mentionnée ci-dessus, considère dans un de ses écrits le bassin des Carpathes localisé d'après les *points cardinaux* comme l'ensemble du *territoire d'habitat* des Hongrois, au lieu de son *territoire de domination*. Cf. Kristó 1998, 93.

²⁸ Kristó 1996, 214 ; Gy. Kristó, « A Magyar Fejedelemség a 10. században » [La Principauté Hongroise au X^e siècle] in Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, dir., *Európa és Magyarország Szent István korában* [La Hongrie et l'Europe à l'époque de saint Étienne], Szeged 2000 (dans ce qui suit : Kristó 2000a), 303.

²⁹ L'opinion selon laquelle la terre déterminée par les *rivières* dans le DAI (« *le milieu de la bordure méridionale du bassin des Carpathes* »), donc le territoire s'étendant du Bas-Danube jusqu'aux Körös et, à l'ouest, jusqu'au Danube, était à l'origine l'ensemble de la région de la Moravie du sud (ou Grande Moravie) me paraît intenable. Kristó 1998, 93–94. Deux remarques s'imposent ici. D'une part – comme je l'ai déjà mentionné – la Turquie de Constantin ne s'arrêtait pas au Körös, puisqu'elle comprenait la région de la Haute-Tisza aussi. D'autre part, si l'on accepte l'identification du territoire de la Turquie de Constantin à la Moravie du sud, la remarque de l'empereur, selon laquelle l'ancienne Grande Moravie se trouvait *au sud* (sur des territoires méridionaux) par rapport à la Turquie du milieu du X^e siècle, perd tout son sens. Je pense donc que la Turquie de Constantin déterminée par les sept rivières s'étendait sur un territoire bien plus grand que la terre de la Moravie du sud située dans le bassin des Carpathes.

³⁰ Ceci est contesté par Tóth 1996, 58.

Szörény, les montagnes de Zaránd, et les Montagnes de Transylvanie) n'en faisant pas partie. De même, au nord, les confins de la zone d'habitat se situaient aux versants sud des Montagnes du nord. Cependant, à l'Ouest, on doit compléter le territoire de la Turquie par le Mezőföld (rive droite du Danube) et des régions du Csallóköz et du Kisalföld, aptes au pâturage nomade. Ces trois petites régions faisaient partie de l'habitat réel des conquérants, comme le prouvent les fouilles archéologiques et les résultats des analyses anthropologiques. Les sabretaches caractéristiques des Hongrois de la conquête proviennent toutes, à une seule exception près, des régions de plaine : la région de la rive gauche de la Tisza (surtout son cours supérieur), celle située entre le Danube et la Tisza, et le Kisalföld. Les trouvailles anthropologiques considérées comme typiques des Hongrois (et des Kavars) de la conquête sont connues, à côté des territoires entre le Danube et la Tisza ou à l'est de la Tisza, entre autres du Mezőföld, et des régions limitrophes du Csallóköz et du Kisalföld.

Donc, à l'intérieur de leur *territoire de domination*, les Hongrois n'ont pas habité la Moravie de l'Ouest, le territoire entre les rivières Leitha et Enns, la Haute-Hongrie, la majeure partie de la Transdanubie (à l'ouest et au sud). La Transylvanie demeurerait également non peuplée par des Hongrois.³¹

En résumant mon argumentation, je constate que des deux localisations du DAI, la première (d'après les *points cardinaux*) se rapportait en effet au *territoire de domination* des Hongrois, donc à leur sphère de pouvoir et de contrôle militaire, alors que la deuxième (d'après les *rivières*) désignait en fait la *zone d'habitat* réellement habitée par les tribus hongroises (et kavars). Les deux localisations reflètent des réalités territoriales caractéristiques du milieu du X^e siècle, générées sans doute par la conquête.

Pour finir, je voudrais répondre encore à une question. Pourquoi le DAI (en décrivant la partie orientale du quartier de Turquie) énumère-t-il la section du Danube située entre Szalánkemén et la Porte de Fer et les affluents orientaux de la

³¹ Sur la diffusion des sabretaches, voir L. Révész, « Honfoglalás-kori tarsolylemezek Karosról » [Des sabretaches de l'époque de la conquête de Karos] in G. Lőrinczy, dir., *A kőkorszaktól a középkorig. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára* [De l'âge de la pierre au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts au 60^e anniversaire d'Ottó Trogmayer], Szeged 1994, 349–368 (carte : p. 367). Pour les résultats des examens récents d'anthropologie, voir K. Éry, « A Kárpát-medence embertani képe a honfoglalás korában » [Le tableau anthropologique du bassin des Carpathes à l'époque de la conquête] in L. Kovács, dir., *Honfoglalás és régészet* [Conquête et archéologie], Budapest 1994, 217–224 (carte : p. 220). Pour les relations entre les sabretaches, les trouvailles anthropologiques et l'habitat, voir Kristó 1996, 214–216, 221 ; Kristó 2000a, 309. Pour la protection et le maintien de leur pouvoir, les Hongrois ont établi sur les territoires pris mais non occupés des marches et des colonies militaires. Voir par ex. Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, *A kilencedik és a tizedik század története* [Histoire du IX^e et du X^e siècles], Budapest 2001 (dans ce qui suit : Kristó–Makk 2001), 88–89, 166 ; I. Bóna, « Erdély a magyar honfoglalás és államalapítás korában » [La Transylvanie à l'époque de la conquête hongroise et de la fondation de l'État] in *Erdély a keresztény magyar királyságban* [La Hongrie dans le royaume hongrois chrétien], Kolozsvár (Cluj) 2001, 78.

Tisza (donc le Temes, le Toutis-Béga, le Maros et le Körös) ? Comment expliquer les connaissances exactes et détaillées de l'empereur Constantin sur les cours d'eau de la Turquie de l'Est ?

On pourrait supposer que ces rivières (y compris le cours supérieur de la Tisza) ont correspondu à des fragments d'une route commerciale qui a joué au X^e siècle un rôle très important dans les échanges entre Hongrois et Byzance.³² Cette supposition semble pourtant être contredite par l'expertise archéologique, selon laquelle cette route commerciale a suivi non la rive gauche de la Tisza, mais celle de droite (et, au nord, le Bodrog et le Latorca), de Belgrade à Verecke.³³

On connaît bien la conception d'après laquelle les données caractéristiques des territoires des peuples nomadisants sont les cours d'eau, et qui dit que les rivières sont les plus aptes à localiser les nomades. Dans le cas des Petchenègues d'Etelköz, le DAI en donne aussi un bon exemple. On peut donc comprendre que le *basileus* a pu le mieux déterminer l'habitat des tribus hongroises par les rivières.³⁴ Il se pose alors la question de savoir pourquoi Constantin ne connaissait pas les rivières les plus importantes des Hongrois, comme la Drave, le Bodrog, le Sajó ou le Zagyva ? Ces cours d'eau ont pourtant constitué autant de parties importantes de l'espace vital des Hongrois.

D'après une autre opinion, les rivières de la rive gauche mentionnées ici ont constitué, à l'époque de la conquête (et peut-être pendant la première moitié du X^e siècle), des sections ou étapes importantes des contacts diplomatiques entre Hongrois et Byzance, de Belgrade jusqu'au quartier du grand prince magyar résidant dans la région de la Haute-Tisza.³⁵

Faisant abstraction du fait qu'on ne connaît pas encore, malheureusement, l'emplacement géographique précis du quartier du grand prince hongrois, et ne niant point l'importance de l'hypothèse des contacts diplomatiques, je suis d'avis que la connaissance des rivières de l'Est du DAI s'explique surtout par le fait que les *tribus des chefs* habitaient les régions déterminées par ces rivières. Je pense ici aux tribus du grand prince, du *gyula* et du *horka*. Byzance eut toujours des liens plus serrés avec celles-ci. Il suffit peut-être de se référer aux voyages byzantins, de grande importance, du horka Bulcsu, de Termacsu (de la maison des Árpád) et du chef Gyula.³⁶ Mais surtout, le *klérikos* Gabriel, ambassadeur du *basileus*, a dû aussi parcourir – à l'exemple d'autres envoyés – ces mêmes territoires dans la première moitié du X^e siècle.³⁷ Donc la partie orientale de la Turquie était connue

³² Kristó-Makk 2001, 164–165.

³³ K. Mesterházy, « Régészeti adatok Magyarország 10–11. századi kereskedelméhez » [Données archéologiques sur le commerce en Hongrie aux X^e–XI^e siècles], *Századok* 127 (1993), 455.

³⁴ Voir par ex. Fehér 1921–1922, 360 ; Várady 1989, 48 ; Gy. Kristó, « Városok és folyók a DAI-ban » [Villes et rivières dans le DAI], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 116 (2002), 3–7.

³⁵ T. Keszi, « Hozzájárulás a korai magyar fejedelmi központ kérdéséhez » [Contribution à la problématique de l'ancien centre princier des Hongrois], *Századok* 135 (2001), 490–491.

³⁶ Pour les sources relatives, voir Moravcsik 1984, 49, 85, 100 ; HOKIF, 178–179.

³⁷ Moravcsik 1984, 36–37.

et importante pour Byzance et son souverain, parce que c'est là que se trouvait l'habitat des *principales tribus hongroises et des chefs de la fédération des tribus*.³⁸

Donc, à mon avis, le centre du pouvoir princier se trouvait au milieu du Xe siècle (et on peut supposer que ce fut le cas pendant toute la première moitié du siècle) en Hongrie de l'Est, plus précisément dans la région de la rive gauche de la Tisza, et non en Transdanubie (Hongrie de l'Ouest).³⁹ Les sept autres tribus (hongroises et kavares) s'installèrent sur d'autres parties du territoire esquissé. On peut supposer qu'une ou deux d'entre elles avaient établi leurs quartiers dans les régions orientales. Malheureusement le DAI ne rend possible ni la détermination plus exacte de l'habitat des tribus principales, ni celle des zones des sept autres tribus.⁴⁰

La situation caractérisant le milieu du Xe siècle (et, en partie, sa première moitié) n'est guère demeurée stable. Au cours de la deuxième moitié du siècle, une restructuration considérable s'est opérée concernant à la fois la *zone de domination* et la *zone d'habitat*. La zone d'influence a d'abord perdu les territoires moraves au-delà des Carpathes ; plus tard, le repli des Hongrois dans les régions se situant à l'est de l'Enns commença. Ainsi, à la fin du siècle, la frontière hungaro-germanique s'était fixée pour une longue période aux alentours des rivières Leitha-Fischa et Morava. La modification des zones était aussi due au début et au maintien du peuplement (ou occupation) par des Hongrois de certains territoires de l'ancienne zone de domination (la Transylvanie, le sud de la Haute-Hongrie, l'ouest et le sud de la Transdanubie). Ceci était favorisé, à côté des facteurs économiques (liés au mode de vie), par diverses raisons politiques. En effet, comme les sources écrites le prouvent, le quartier des Árpád s'est déplacé en Transdanubie ; ce faisant, le centre du pouvoir de la principauté hongroise est passé de la rive gauche de la Tisza à la Hongrie de l'Ouest. Les *gyula* ont émigré de la partie orientale de la Turquie de Constantin en Transylvanie, alors qu'une partie du peuple (de la tribu) de Csaba quittait le bassin des Carpathes et se fixait dans les Balkans.⁴¹ L'examen des raisons précises et de la chronologie de cette importante restructuration pourrait constituer le sujet d'une autre analyse.

(Traduit du hongrois par Géza Szász)

³⁸ Cette idée a déjà été formulée antérieurement. Voir à ce sujet Kristó 1980, 452. Plus récemment, le même auteur a recommencé à considérer le territoire de la Turquie de Constantin comme la zone d'habitat d'une seule tribu, impossible à identifier plus précisément. Kristó 2001, 14.

³⁹ L'habitat des Árpád se trouverait dès la conquête en Transdanubie selon par ex. Gy. Györffy, *István király és műve* [Le roi Étienne et son œuvre], troisième édition, Budapest, 2000, 32–33.

⁴⁰ On pourrait proposer l'idée selon laquelle les cinq rivières auraient peut-être marqué des limites entre les tribus ; chacun des cours d'eau aurait aussi pu être la rivière d'une tribu distincte. Il en résulterait la supposition que cinq tribus auraient eu leurs quartiers de la Haute-Tisza jusqu'au Bas-Danube. Ceci ne peut pas être prouvé. Pour la qualification des rivières, voir encore Tóth 1996, 62.

⁴¹ A ce sujet, voir dans l'historiographie récente par ex. Kristó–Makk 2001, 143–145, 174–175, 186, 190.

Princes and dignitaries in the ninth–tenth-century Magyar tribal federation

SÁNDOR LÁSZLÓ TÓTH



This study analyzes the leadership of the Hungarians in the age of their conquest, i.e. their conquest and settlement in the mid-Danubian basin (or Carpathian basin) in the ninth–tenth centuries. It deals with the titles and functions of the princes and dignitaries, the structure of leadership and the persons, who held these ranks.

The Hungarians, who called themselves Magyars (or Seven Magyars – ‘*Hetű-mogyer*’) appearing in written sources under different names (*Turks, Ungri, Huns, Savartoi Asfaloi* etc.) lived from the 830s north of the Black Sea, between the Danube and Don rivers. Their huge dwelling places were called Levedia and Etelköz by Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII (945–959) in his famous work, *De Administrando imperio* (cited as DAI).¹ The Hungarians formed a tribal federation, which consisted of seven tribes (Nyék, Megyer, Kürtgyarmat, Tarján, Jenő, Kér and Keszi).² A dissident Khazar group, consisted of three tribes and called Kavars (Qabars) revolting against the ruling Khazar government joined the Hungarian tribal federation before 881, probably in the 860–870s.³ The Hungarians – apart

¹ For Levedia (Lebedia) in chapter 38 and Etelköz (Atelkouzou) in chapter 38 and 40 of DAI, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*. Vol. 1. Greek text ed. Gy. Moravcsik, English trans. R. J. H. Jenkins. Washington 1967. (henceforth: DAI) 170–173, 176–177; for the different hypotheses concerning these ancient homelands of the Hungarians cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*. Vol. 2, Commentary. ed. R. J. H. Jenkins, London 1962. (henceforth: Commentary) 147, 148; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged 1996, 107–112, 154–158; S. L. Tóth, *Levediától a Kárpát-medencéig* [From Levedia to the Carpathian Basin], Szeged 1998, 41–60.

² For the Greek form of the names of the Hungarian tribes see chapter 40, cf. DAI 174–175.

³ For the history of the Kavars (*Kabaroi*) see in chapter 39, DAI 174–175; they (*Cowari*) raided and fought in the borderlands (Ostmark–present-day Austria) of the East Frank

from an early phase in the 830s, when they might have been enemies of the Khazars – were military allies or rather vassals of the Khazar Khaganate. Emperor Constantine recorded, that the Hungarians “lived together with the Chazars for three years, and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars.” The khagan even gave in marriage a noble woman to the first known Hungarian leader, Levedi. This marriage clearly shows the strong political bonds between the Khazar Empire and the Hungarian tribal federation. Later the khagan invited Levedi and offered him that “we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and command.” Levedi politely refused the offer and recommended another Hungarian leader, Álmos or his son, Árpád. Levedi came back with the men of the khagan and the Hungarians chose Árpád and “made him prince according to the custom or zakanon of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield.”⁴ The election of the first Hungarian prince as reflected in the Byzantine source demonstrates the determining role of the Khazars. This two “Khazar episodes” of DAI; the Khazar marriage of Levedi and the election of Árpád prove that strong personal bonds tied the Hungarian leaders to the Khazar khagan.⁵ This may have resulted in the dependence of the Hungarian tribal federation up until their westward migration and conquest in the mid-Danubian basin in 895–900.⁶ It is a debated question, however, whether the Hungarians became independent in the 870–880s, as reflected in Muslim sources like Ibn Rusta and Gardizī, or not.⁷ It is a fact, that in spite of their Khazar alliance or dependence, besides attacking the neighboring Slav tribes the Hungarians led westward

Empire together with the Hungarians (*Ungri*) in 881, see *Continuatio Annalium Ivavensium Maximorum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*. (henceforth: MGH SS) Vol. XXX/2. Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1934, 742; cf. *Commentary* 149–150; put their revolt and joining to the Hungarians around 780 H. Schönebaum, “Zur Kabarenfrage,” in *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*. I. Berlin 1957, 142–146; around 850 see Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 149–154; between 862 and 881 cf. Tóth, *Levediától*, 61–78.

⁴ For the story of Constantine, recorded in chapter 38, see DAI 170–173.

⁵ For the analysis of these two Khazar episodes of DAI see Tóth, *Levediától*, 130–144.

⁶ The vassal status of the Hungarians lasted till their conquest in 895–900, cf. I. Zimonyi, “Préhistoire hongroise: methode de recherche et vue d’ensemble,” in *Les Hongrois et l’Europe: Conquête et Integration*. Paris–Szeged 1999, 41.

⁷ For the informations of contemporary Muslim writers about the Magyars (Hungarians) in Hungarian translation cf. Gy. Kristó, ed., *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai* [The Written Sources of the Conquest] Szeged 1995, (henceforth: HKÍF) 29–38; for the English translation of the report of Ibn Rusta see C. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge 1930, 206–207; for the French translation of his text, see G. Wiet, *Ibn Rusteh. Les atours précieux*. Le Caire 1955, 160–161; for the English translation of Gardizī’s text, see Macartney, *The Magyars*, 206–207; for the theory of the Hungarians becoming independent in around 830, cf. Gy. Györffy, *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről* [Studies on the Origin of the Hungarian State] Budapest 1959, 79; around 870–880s see Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 170–173.

raids of their own several times (e.g. in 862, 881, 892, 894, 895).⁸ At the same time the number of their warriors (20,000 men) were higher in contemporary Muslim sources, than that of the Khazars (10,000 men).⁹ Even if we take into consideration that there were other vassal people of the Khazar Empire (e. g. the Burtas with 10,000 men), one cannot suppose a Khazar military advantage over the Hungarians. In this respect, we can suppose a weak, formal dependence of the Hungarians.

At the end of the ninth century, around 895, a westward migration of steppe people may have taken place.¹⁰ As part of this process, the Oghuz tribes allied with the Khazars, defeated and expelled the Pechenegs living between the Volga and the Ural. The Pechenegs made war against the Hungarians, and perhaps due to their numerical superiority, defeated them and occupied the Hungarian territories (Etelköz).¹¹ The Pechenegs might possibly be the allies of the Bulgarians, who wanted to avenge a Hungarian raid. The Hungarians were hired by Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (886–912) to fight the Bulgarians in 895, and defeated the Bulgarian ruler, Simeon, in preliminary encounters, but lost the final battle.¹² Besides participating in the Bulgarian–Byzantine war, the Hungarians took part in the conflicts in Central Europe in the last decade of the ninth century. In 892 the Hungarians supported King Arnulf of the East Frank Empire against Prince Svato-
topluk of Moravia; then in 894 they devastated Pannonia (western Danubian

⁸ For the raids or campaigns of the Hungarians in the ninth century, cf. S. L. Tóth, “Les incursions des Magyars en Europe,” in *Les Hongrois*, 204–205; Tóth, *Levedéktől*, 145–168.

⁹ For the 20,000 warriors of the Hungarians (it means two great military units consisted of 10,000 men called *tumen*), cf. Ibn Rusta and Gardizi, see *HKÍF* 32, 35; Wiet, *Ibn Rusteh*, 160; for the 10,000 warriors of the Khazars (i.e. one *tumen*) M. Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről. Földrajzi irodalom* [Muslim Writers on the People of the Steppe. Geographical Literature] vols. I/1 and I/2, ed. I. Zimonyi, Budapest 1997, 2000. I/1. 205; for comparing these data see, Tóth, *Levedéktől*, 141; the Khazar standing army was estimated in ninth–tenth century at 10–12 thousand men by D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazarenreiches im Licht der Schriftlichen Quellen*. Münster 1982, 286–292.

¹⁰ For the Muslim sources of this migration of people (Tabari, Masudi) in Hungarian translation cf. *HKÍF* 57–59, 60; for the hypothesis of this great migration of people in the 890s, cf. B. Hóman, Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History] vol. 1, Budapest 1935², 116; I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulgars*. Szeged 1990, 169; Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 182.

¹¹ For these wars cf. *DAI* 166–167 (chapter 37), 170–173. (chapter 38), 176–177 (chapter 40); the Pecheneg attack against the Hungarians were mentioned in the chronicle of Regino in 889, cf. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum ad usum scholarum. Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*, Rec. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1890, 131–132: “a finitimis sibi populis, qui Pecinaci vocantur, a propriis sedibus expulsa est, eo quod numero et virtute prestarent”; cf. for the Hungarian–Pecheneg wars cf. S. L. Tóth, *Az etelközi magyar–besenyő háború*. [The War between the Hungarians and the Pechenegs in Etelköz], *Századok* 122 (1988), 541–576; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the early Árpáds, 890s to 1063*. New York 2002, 85–88.

¹² Cf. Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 182–189; S. L. Tóth, “Hungarian–Bulgarian Contacts in the Ninth Century,” *Hungaro–Bulgaria* 5 (1994), 71–78.

parts) as allies of the Moravians.¹³ Owing to these raids and wars the Hungarians came to know their future homeland, the mid-Danubian basin. At the end of the ninth century this territory was possessed by three neighboring states: the East Franks (Pannonia or west Danubian parts), the Moravians (Highlands, i.e. north of the Danube) and the Bulgarians (southern parts of the region and what is later called Transylvania).¹⁴ The divided nature of this region made it easier for the Hungarians leaving their homeland (Etelköz) to conquer and settle it. It is probable, that at first, around 895 or later, they occupied the territories east of the Danube, then by 900 they invaded the western parts of the Carpathian basin as well. The East Franks and the Hungarians divided the collapsing Moravian state by 902. With the appearance of the Hungarian tribal federation a new political unity was achieved in this region. For the European states Christian and Muslim (in the Iberian-peninsula) alike it meant a new menace besides the Viking attacks. For the next half century the nomadic Hungarian tribes led regular, yearly raids against different parts of Europe. Most of these campaigns were successful and brought much booty for the Hungarian warriors. It took time for the Christian states to get used to the new, nomad tactics of the Hungarians (riding on horseback and shooting arrows). At last Otto I defeated the Hungarians at Augsburg (Lechfeld) in 955 and afterwards the Hungarian raids were directed mostly towards the Byzantine empire until their defeat at Arkadiopolis in 970.¹⁵ The end of the raids combined with the Christianization of the Hungarians and the spread of agriculture resulted in important inner changes in the nature of the Hungarian tribal federation. This process led to the development of the Hungarian Kingdom symbolized by the coronation of Stephen (Saint) I in 1000/1001.

Having outlined the main political events of ninth–tenth-century, we have to focus on the political structure and leadership of the Hungarian tribes. Two major sources mention titles concerning the Hungarians. One of them, the so-called Jayhani tradition is constituted by the works of Muslim geographical writers. Besides the Arab Ibn Rusta (around the 910–920s) and the Persian Gardīzī (around 1050s) other Muslim writers, like al-Bakri, Marvazi, Auḡi and the mysterious Hudūd al-Ālam and the late, fifteenth century Turkish Sukrullah preserved the lost work of al-Jayhani. The period described by the Muslim writers in connection with the Hungarians and other people is a debated question. It is probable that these reports referred to at least partly around 870–880 and perhaps to

¹³ For the raid of 892 and 894, see *Annales Fuldenses, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum ad usum scholarum. Annales Fuldenses*. Rec. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1891, 121–122, 125–126; for its analysis cf. Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 175–177; Tóth, *Levediától*, 148–151.

¹⁴ For the political situation in the Carpathian Basin on the eve of the Hungarian Landtaking, see Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 180–181; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary*, 88–91.

¹⁵ For the Hungarian raids cf., for instance, G. Fasoli, *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secolo X*. Firenze 1945; Sz. Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stammesbundes in die europäische Geschichte*. Mainz 1968; Gy. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államig*. [From the Tribal Federation of Levedi to the State of Saint Stephen] Budapest 1980, 229–392; F. Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)* [Hungarian Foreign Policy 893–1196], Szeged 1996, 9–29; Tóth, *Les incursions*, 201–222.

around 920.¹⁶ The text of Ibn Rusta may be considered the most relevant of them. He reports, that "their (i.e. the Magyars) king rides out with horsemen to the number of 20,000 and this king is called *K.nd.h*. But this denotes only the title of their king, for the man, who is really a ruler over them, called *G.l.h*. All the Magyars accept the orders of their chief, *G.l.h* in the matter of war and defence and others."¹⁷ Gardizī repeats the same passage a bit shortened and with slight modification: "their leader rides out with 20,000 horsemen and they call this chief Kanda (*K.nd.h* – T. S. L.), and this is the name of their greater king, and that chief, that superintends their affairs they call *Jula* (*G.l.h*. – T. S. L.) and the Magyars do whatever *Jula* commands."¹⁸ It should be noted, however, that the other Muslim writers mentioned only one Hungarian chief; most of them (Al-Bakri, Marvazi, Auḡi and Sukrullah) the *k.nd.h* and only one source (Hudūd al-Ālam) referred just to the *h.l.t.*, probably the *G.l.h*.¹⁹ On the basis of the Muslim sources, namely the Jayhani tradition, we can suppose, that there were two leaders in the Hungarian tribal federation at the end of the ninth century. One of them was called *k.nd.h.*, which is interpreted by scholars as *kündü*, *kündä* or *kende*.²⁰ This title may be identified with the name *kndr* (*kündür*) khagan of the third Khazar dignity mentioned by Ibn Fadlan in 921–922.²¹ It is noteworthy, that the late Hungarian chronicles and the *Gesta Ungarorum* by Anonymus listed a person named Cundu among the seven chieftains.²² This personal name may reflect the long existence of a title in the Hungarian tribal federation. The other rank is the *G.l.h*, which can be identified with the title 'gūlas' of Emperor Constantine in 950.²³ Scholars interpreted this rank as *gyula*. Similarly to the dignity of *kündü* (*kündä*) it has been preserved in chronicles as a personal name of a Hungarian tribal chief at the time of conquest.²⁴

The other important source of Hungarian dignities is Emperor Constantine's fundamental work, *DAI*. Although this work was written around 948–952, it contained not only contemporary descriptions and references, but earlier reports and information as well. As far as Hungarians are concerned, Emperor Constan-

¹⁶ Cf. Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 101–105; Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/1. 199–202.

¹⁷ Cf. the Hungarian translation in *HKÍF* 32–33; Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/1. 207–208; the English translation is not accurate, so I could not really use it, cf. Macartney, *The Magyars*, 206; for the French translation see, Wiet, *Ibn Rusteh*, 160.

¹⁸ For this translation see Macartney, *The Magyars*, 206; for the Hungarian translation cf. *HKÍF* 35.

¹⁹ Cf. *HKÍF* 39, 42, 44, 47.

²⁰ Cf. L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [The Turkish Connections of the Hungarian Language before the Landtaking and in the Arpadian Age] Budapest 1986, 484.

²¹ A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*. Leipzig 1939, 99; for the identification of these two dignities see e. g. Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 136.

²² E. Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. 2 vols. Budapestini 1937–1938 (henceforth: SRH), 1: 41, 166, 291.

²³ *DAI* 178–179. (chapter 40).

²⁴ SRH 1: 41, 166, 290.

tine could base Chapters 38–40 relating the past affairs and the present state of the Hungarians (Turks–*Tourkoi*) and Kavars (*Kabaroí*) on the personal stories of Termacsu (prince Árpád's great grandson) and Bulcsú, who were his guests in 948. A report of a Byzantine envoy to the Hungarians, cleric Gabriel also might be a source for these chapters.²⁵ According to the Byzantine emperor the Hungarians earlier "had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom first voivode" was Levedi.²⁶ The situation changed, when on the initiative of the Khazar khagan the Hungarians elected a prince (*arkhón*) and according to the Khazar ceremony lifted Árpád on the shield.²⁷ The voivodes (*boebodoi*) may be considered as chieftains of the seven tribes without any special functions. However, Levedi, as first of the chieftains (*prótos boebodos*) may be regarded the leader of the Hungarian tribal federation.²⁸ This is reflected by the fact, that the khagan gave him a noble Khazar woman in marriage and later offered him the dignity of prince. Even Emperor Constantine once named Levedi as *arkhegos*, which may be considered equivalent to the title of *arkhón* used by him to denote the first rank among the Hungarians.²⁹ At the same time he twice stated that before the election of Árpád there had been no *arkhón* ('prince') among the Hungarians and he emphasized the continuity of this dignity in the family of Árpád.³⁰ Besides Levedi, just the father of Árpád, Álmos has been mentioned as "a voivode other" (*heteros apo emou boebodos*).³¹ However, these voivodes were not regarded princes by Emperor Constantine. It is very probable, that the federation of the seven Hungarian tribes were led not only by these two voivodes (Levedi and Álmos), but there were other chieftains. It is to be emphasized, that although the two voivodes (Levedi and Álmos) would correspond to the two titles (*kündü* and *gyula*) of the Muslim sources, according to the logic of chapter 38, there were only one prince of the Hungarians elected before their conquest.³² In this respect, there is contradiction between the report of the Muslim sources and Chapter 38 of DAI.

²⁵ For the possible sources of the "Hungarian chapters" of DAI, see *Commentary* 146.

²⁶ DAI 170–171; for the Slav origin of this title see M. Gyóni, *A magyar nyelv görög feljegyzéses szórványemlékei*. [The Relics of the Hungarian Language Recorded by Greeks] Budapest 1943, 33.

²⁷ DAI 172–173.

²⁸ Cf. F. Makk, "Levedi, a fővajda," [Levedi, the leading voivode] in G. Klaniczay, B. Nagy, eds. *A középkor szeretete. Történeti tanulmányok Sz. Jónás Ilona tiszteletére*. Budapest 1999, 189–196.

²⁹ For the title *arkhegos*, see DAI 172–173 (38/30). This title is used by Constantine in connection with Arab rulers (caliphs) denoting princes in DAI, cf. the remark of F. Makk to the lecture of Gy. Kristó, see in Gy. Kristó, *A korai magyar államról* [On the Early Hungarian State] Budapest 1996, 31–32.

³⁰ DAI 170–173.

³¹ DAI 172–173, (38/43).

³² Earlier some Hungarian scholars supposed that before 889 Levedi as *kündü* and Álmos as *gyula* led the Hungarians, then Árpád was elected as prince, cf. Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig* [The History of the Hungarian Nation till Stephen the

Emperor Constantine gives a more detailed account on the titles of the Hungarians in Chapter 40. According to him "these eight clans of the Turks do not obey their own particular princes, but have a joint agreement to fight together with all earnestness and zeal upon the rivers, wheresoever war breaks out. They have for their first chief the prince who comes by succession of Árpád family, and two others, the *gylas* and the *karchas*, who have the rank of judge; and each clan has a prince."³³ In this chapter he named Árpád as the "great prince of Turkey" (*megas Tourkias arkhón*) and his grandson, *Falicsi* as "the present prince" (*ton nūni arkhónta*). The emperor emphasized that "*gylas* and *karchas* are not proper names, but dignities", stated that "*karchas* is a dignity, like *gylas*, which is superior to *karchas*" and mentioned Kál and his son, Bulcsú, as holders of the rank *karchas*.³⁴ The information of this chapter may refer mainly to the leadership of the 940s and had been probably derived from the Hungarian visitors of 948, Termacsu and Bulcsú. If we compare this description concerning the leaders of the Hungarians with the information in Chapter 38, there are relevant differences between them. First of all, the chieftains of tribes called "princes" (*arkhón*) and not voivodes (*boebodos*). Secondly, Árpád is called in Chapter 40 "great prince" (*megas arkhón*), while just "prince" (*arkhón*) in Chapter 38. The emperor probably wanted to emphasize with the epitheton ornans *megas* the difference between the leader of the tribal federation and the simple chieftains of the tribes.³⁵ The denomination, first chief (*prótē kefalē*) in connection with the prince deriving from the family of Árpád also outlines the leading position of Árpád and his successors. The third and main difference between the information of the two chapters, that while Chapter 38 mentions only one *arkhón* (Árpád), Chapter 40 refer to two additional leaders (*gylas*, *karchas*) besides the *arkhón* from the family of Árpád. Of course, the report concerning the contemporary state of Hungarian leadership (around 950) can be regarded more precise than the possibly "oral tradition" referring to the ninth century Hungarian leaders and titles. Nevertheless, it seems probable, that there may have been certain real differences between late ninth century and mid-tenth century Hungarian leadership both in the numbers of dignities and their function.

We may compare the information of Muslim geographical literature referring to about 870–880 with the retrospective "oral tradition" of Chapter 38 relating to late ninth century and the contemporary mid-tenth century report of Chapter 40 of DAI concerning Hungarian dignities. According to an earlier hypothesis, at first two dignitaries, the *kündü* and the *gyula* led the Hungarians. In 889 a prince (great prince) was elected and besides him the *gyula* and later the *karchas* directed

Saint] Budapest 1900, 19, 25; B. Hóman, *A magyarok honfoglalása és elhelyezkedése* [The Conquest and Settlement of the Hungarians] Budapest 1923, 20, 22.

³³ DAI 178–179.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cf. on the title F. Makk, "Megas arkhón," in F. Makk, *A Turulmadártól a kettőskeresztig*, Szeged 1998, 67–80.

the tribal federation.³⁶ According to other scholars there had already been three dignitaries among the Hungarians before the conquest at the end of the ninth century; the *kündü*, the *gyula* and the *karchas* (leader of the joining Kavars).³⁷ It is probable, that in the ninth century there were only two leaders in the Hungarian tribal federation, the *kündü* and the *gyula*.³⁸ The *k.nd.h* dignity of the Muslim sources can be identified with the probably Khazar title *arkhón* or *megas arkhón* Árpád got from the Khazar khagan (chapter 38 and 40). The dignity of *kündü* (*kündä*) or *arkhón* mentioned first in these sources and held the first place in the hierarchy of chieftains. The *G.l.h.* of the Muslim sources must surely be identified with the *gülas* of chapter 40 of DAI. This title, the *gyula* signified a rank, which stood in the second place of the hierarchy. The title *karchas* seems to be established after the conquest, perhaps in the 910s or rather in the 920s. Emperor Constantine listed just Kál and his son as officials holding this dignity. Bulcsú could already participate in the raid of 942 and was the leader of the Hungarian campaign of 955, which meant a defeat for the Hungarians and the end of his life.³⁹ If we regard Bulcsú as *karchas* for about two decades (from about 935–940 till 955) by counting back similarly two decades for Kál as *karchas*, we may estimate the appearance of this dignity at around 915–920.⁴⁰ Similarly the third place in the hierarchy may prove that this dignity was established the last. This rank cannot be connected with the *arkhón* of the three Kavar tribes mentioned in chapter 39 of DAI,⁴¹ since the holder of this title, Bulcsú, belonged to the seven Hungarian tribes as testified by the list of Ibn Hayyān (942) and by later Hungarian chronicles as well.⁴² It is a disputed question, whether any of the mentioned dignities, namely the *kündü*, the *gyula* or the *karchas* may be identified with the *arkhón* of the Kavar tribes or not, and they had their own prince.⁴³ The three titles of chapter 40

³⁶ Cf. Note 32.

³⁷ J. Deér, "Le probleme du chapitre 38 du de Administrando imperio," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slave* 12 (1952), 102–110; Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 485; A. Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép* [The Hungarian People of Conquest] Budapest 1996, 272.

³⁸ Cf. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől*, 217–228; Tóth, *Levediatól*, 100.

³⁹ The name of Bulcsú (Wulgudi) can be found in a list of seven Hungarian leaders (emirs) mentioned by Muslim chronicler Ibn Hayyān in 942, cf. *HKÍF* 63–64; for his death in 955 cf. e. g. *HKÍF*, 152–153, 342.

⁴⁰ Cf. S. L. Tóth, "Magyar törzsszövetségi méltóságok 870–950 között," [Dignities of the Hungarian Tribal Federation between 870 and 950] *Acta Universitatis Scientiarum Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 113 (2001), 24.

⁴¹ For the *arkhón* of the Kavars see DAI 174–175.

⁴² For the information on Bulcsú as one of the seven emirs, cf. Ibn Hayyān, *HKÍF* 63–64; as one of the seven leaders cf. the chronicle of Kézai, *SRH* I. 167; fourteenth century chronicle composition, *SRH* I: 292.

⁴³ For the theory, that the Árpád family was of Kavar origin, so the prince or *kündü* (*arkhón*) was Kavar, cf. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire. From the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I.* (A. D. 862–867). London 1912, 426; R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia*. New Brunswick 1970. 178; L. Várady, "Revision des Ungarn-Image von Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 90

clearly refer to all the eight tribes including the Kavars as well. However, as mentioned, the dignity of *karchas* should be excluded because Bulcsú belonged to the seven Hungarian tribes. The election of Árpád is described in chapter 38 dealing with Hungarians, so the first dignity of *kündü* or prince (*arkhón*) may be probably related to the seven tribes and not the Kavars. So only the dignity of *gyula* can be assumed at all, considering the important role of Kavars in wars emphasized by Emperor Constantine in Chapter 39.⁴⁴ However, if the name of the first chieftain in 942 may really be identified with the title *gyula*, the Kavar *arkhón* could not hold this rank.⁴⁵ Presently we cannot connect these dignities with specific tribes, Hungarian or Kavar, though it seems probable that the *kündü* and *gyula* of the ninth-tenth century and the *karkhas* of the tenth century belonged to specific Hungarian tribes, while the Kavar tribes had one prince of their own.

After clarifying the number of dignities before and after the conquest, we must focus on their functions and role. Earlier some of the scholars supposed, that the *kündü* represented the Khazar rule over the Hungarians as some kind of a commander-in-chief, while the *gyula* as the main judge embodied the efforts of the Hungarian tribes for getting independent.⁴⁶ This hypothesis was based partly on the report of Muslim sources, since it interpreted the riding of the *kündü* with the 20,000 horsemen as leading them in war. In case of the *gyula* the description of Emperor Constantine was used concerning his judicial function. Later theory regarded the *kündü* a sacral prince, while the *gyula* as a real ruler, namely the commander-in-chief.⁴⁷ This concept was based on the testimony of Muslim sources concerning both Hungarian dignities and neglected the Byzantine description concerning the function of the *gyula*. The influence of the so-called

(1989), 34–35; the Árpád family was not Kavar, but the eldest son of the ruling prince governed the Kavar tribes as duke, cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Leipzig 1903. 52, 522; Györffy, *Tanulmányok* 1959. 83; the Kavar *arkhón* was the *gyula*, see for this hypothesis Macartney, *The Magyars*, 116; G. Vékony, "Egy kazár felirat a Kárpát-medencében," [A Khazar Inscription in the Carpathian Basin] *Életünk* 1987/4, 383; for the *karchas* as the Kavar *arkhón* cf. footnote 37; for an independent Kavar ruling dynasty, the Aba family, cf. Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, I. 67–68; Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 128.

⁴⁴ DAI 174–175; cf. further Macartney, *The Magyars*, 116.

⁴⁵ For the identification of 'T.x.x.la' with 'gyula' cf. K. Czeglédy, "Új arab forrás a magyarok 942. évi kalandozásáról," [A New Arab Source on the raids of the Hungarians in 942] in K. Czeglédy, *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok*. Budapest 1985, 132, 136; I. Elter, "Néhány megjegyzés Ibn Hayyán a magyarok 942. évi kalandozásairól szóló tudósításához," [Some Remarks to the Report of Ibn Hayyán concerning the Hungarian Raid in 942] *Magyar Nyelv* 78 (1981), 413–419.

⁴⁶ Hóman, *A magyarok honfoglalása*, 20; G. Fehér, "Bulgarisch-ungarisch Beziehungen in den V–XI. Jahrhunderten," *Keleti Szemle* 19 (1921), 120; recently Kosztolnyik, *Hungary*, 3.

⁴⁷ Györffy, *Tanulmányok*, 80–83; K. Czeglédy, "A szakrális királyság a steppei népeknél (a kazároknál és a magyaroknál)," [The Sacral Kingship at the People of the Steppe (Khazars and Magyars)] in Czeglédy, *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok*, 214–215; Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől*, 217–220.

Khazar sacral dual kingship was emphasized, where there was a sacral king (khagan) without executive power and his substitute, the real king (isad or beg) commanding the army and governing the empire.⁴⁸ It was a disputed question, however, whether the Hungarian government could be identified with the sacral dual kingship of the Khazar-type or it was just a dual kingship. Some scholars emphasized on one hand the similarities in the descriptions of Muslim sources concerning the formal activities of the Khazar khagan and the Hungarian *kündü*. On the other hand they referred to the sacral murder of the khagan and the mysterious death or murder of Álmos mentioned by the fourteenth century chronicle compilation. As a conclusion in both cases they supposed a sacral dual kingship.⁴⁹ Other researchers supposed, that the formation of sacral kingship needed a considerable time and a higher level of economic and social development, so there must have been relevant differences between the more refined Khazar system and the Hungarian institutions. So the Hungarian tribes had just two dignitaries (*kündü* and *gyula*) and their system was a simple dual kingship.⁵⁰

Before forming an opinion of the nature and origin of the leadership of the Hungarian tribes in the ninth–tenth centuries, a closer examination of the sources is needed concerning the leaders of the Hungarians and their functions. It seems very probable, that the *kündü* should be considered the first in the hierarchy. He was mentioned before the *gyula* by Ibn Rusta and Gardizī. Similarly, Emperor Constantine considered the prince (*arkhón*) from the family of Árpád as “first chief” (*proté kefalē*) or “great prince” (*megas arkhón*) in comparison with other tribal chieftains. In his list of ranks the prince (*arkhón*) precedes the *gyula* and the *karkhas*, among the other leading dignitaries of the Hungarians. If we accept the hypothesis, that the *kündü* of the Muslim sources can be identified with the prince (*arkhón*) of Constantine, regarding their first place in the hierarchy, we must assume, that the *kündü* was the more powerful. His position and power may be compared with that of the khagan. The khagan was the first dignity in Khazaria, though his activities were restricted to the sacral sphere, he kept in touch with the heavenly gods. He did not leave his country, lived mostly in his palace and was rarely seen. He had contact just with the most important leaders, mainly with his deputy, the beg (or isad). Once in a while he rode out with his army, but there must be a mile distance between the khagan and his troops. Even his birth and his death were of sacral nature. The khagan’s rule was terminated on his fortieth year and after that he was murdered. He was sacrificed earlier if some kind of a natural catastrophe or military disaster occurred. So the Khagan was held responsible for the fortune and well-being of his people and empire.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Czeglédy, *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok*, 210–216.

⁴⁹ Cf. Czeglédy, *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok*, 210–216; Gy. Kristó, “A honfoglaló magyarok politikai szervezete,” [The political structure of the Conquering Magyars] in *A honfoglalás 1100 éve és a Vajdaság*. Újvidék 1997, 75–79.

⁵⁰ Cf. Györffy, *Tanulmányok*, 141–142; Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 269–271.

⁵¹ On the role of the khagan, cf. Ibn Rusta, see Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók I/1*. 203; Istakhri, cf. Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/2. 28, 30–31; Masúdi, cf. Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/2.

In case of the Hungarian *kündü* the Muslim sources mentioned only one of his functions, namely that he rode out with 20,000 horsemen. Otherwise, both Ibn Rusta and Gardizî emphasized the nominal role of the *kündü* and the effective power of the *gyula*. Emperor Constantine did not relate about any function of the prince (*arkhôn*) from the family of Árpád, unless the subordinate clause, "who have the rank of judge" refer to the prince as well, not only to the *gyula* and the *karkhas*.⁵² In case of the *gyula* and the *karkhas* the reference to their judiciary function is quite clear, while as far as the prince is concerned the source is vague. So the role of the *kündü* should be clarified mainly with the help of the Muslim sources. However, the interpretation of the passage about the riding out of the *kündü* presents some problems. It is evident, that this function of the *kündü* may be of a military nature. At the same time, it is a debated question, whether the passage refers to his real military command, the leadership of raids,⁵³ or to his symbolic, ritual leadership.⁵⁴ Both interpretations may be confirmed with Khazar analogies. Ibn Rusta and Gardizî related, that the substitute of the khagan, the *isad*, "rode out with 10,000 horsemen" and personally led the raids against the Pechenegs.⁵⁵ In this case the *isad* must be connected with this military function, the leadership of raids or campaigns. Ibn Fadlan mentioned, that if the khagan rode out, his whole army followed him, but a mile distance separated the khagan from his horsemen.⁵⁶ As far as this story is concerned, the symbolic leadership of the khagan must be emphasized. It is not easy to choose between the two possible Khazar analogies. Since the *kündü* was mentioned first among the Hungarian dignitaries like the khagan among the Khazar leaders, and their nominal roles were emphasized, it seems probable, that the riding out of the *kündü* can be regarded as ceremonial, expressing his first, leading position in the Hungarian tribal federation.⁵⁷

172; for the English translations of Ibn Rusta, Gardizî, Ibn Fadlan and Istakhri on the Khazars see Macartney, *The Magyars*, 197–202, 218–222; for the analysis of the Khazar government see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*. Princeton 1954, 96–98, 104–105, 110–114; M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Hazar*. Leningrad 1962, 261–266; Ludwig, *Struktur*, 165–190; P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*. 2 vols. Budapest 1980, 1: 97–102; A. P. Novoselcev, *Hazarskoe gosudarstvo i evi rol v istorii vostocnoj Evrope i Kavkaza*. Moskva 1990, 134–144; Róna-Tas, *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, 128–129, 193.

⁵² For supposing the judiciary function of the prince cf. Gy. Rohonyi, *A honfoglalás története* [The History of the Conquest] Budapest 1896, 93; Tóth, *Magyar törzsszövetségi méltóságok*, 27–28.

⁵³ See Note 46.

⁵⁴ See Note 47.

⁵⁵ For Ibn Rusta, see Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/1. 204–205; for the English translation cf. Macartney, *The Magyars*, 199–200.

⁵⁶ Cf. Gy. Györffy, ed., *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról*. [On the Ancestors of the Hungarians and on the Conquest], Budapest 1975². (henceforth: MEH) 98; Togan, *Ibn Fadlan*, 44–45.

⁵⁷ For the two possible interpretations and the Khazar analogies cf. Tóth, *Levediától*, 105–106.

For the sacral nature of this dignity we have no contemporary sources like in the case of the Khazar khagan. Considering later sources, such as the Hungarian chronicles, the miraculous birth of prince Árpád's father, Álmos and his death can be mentioned. According to the totemistic legend, an eagle-like bird (called Turul) begot Álmos.⁵⁸ The death of Álmos is similarly interesting, at about the time of the Hungarian conquest (895) he was killed in Transylvania.⁵⁹ Accepting the testimony of these late chronicles of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries Álmos was regarded by some scholars as the first sacral prince or *kündü* of the Hungarians. His death was considered a sacrifice due to the defeat from the Pechenegs and the loss of the homeland (Etelköz) in 895. Besides, it was assumed, that his rule lasted more than forty years (from the 850s till 895), which resulted in his sacrifice following the Khazar customs.⁶⁰ Although it is possible to compare the sacral death of the khagan with the murder of Álmos, some scholars have objected to this interpretation. The possible causes of the khagan were recorded by contemporary Muslim sources, while the death of Álmos was mentioned in a chronicle centuries later. The expression of the chronicle, that "father Álmos was killed, namely he could not enter Pannonia" is rather vague and obscure.⁶¹ It can be assumed, that according to the chronicler Álmos belonged to the earlier homeland of the Hungarians and therefore he could not enter the new country, like Moses in the Bible.⁶² Although Álmos was regarded as the first prince of the Hungarians by Anonymus and some other chronicles, other chronicles mentioned Árpád as the first ruler, so even the late Hungarian tradition may have been ambiguous in this question.⁶³ However, based on Hungarian information around 950, Emperor Constantine regarded Álmos as a voivode second in the hierarchy and Árpád as the first prince (*arkhón*) elected in Etelköz before the conquest (895). The story of election at Etelköz has been much debated in historiography. It was assumed that the Byzantine emperor was deceived for some reason

⁵⁸ Cf. SRH 1: 38, (*Anonymus, Gesta Ungarorum*) 264 (fourteenth-century chronicle compilation).

⁵⁹ Cf. SRH 1: 287 (fourteenth-century chronicle compilation).

⁶⁰ For Álmos as a sacral prince or *kündü*, cf. e. g. J. Deér, "A IX. századi magyar történet időrendjéhez," [To the Chronology of the ninth-century Hungarian History] *Századok* 79–80 (1945–1946), 13–16; D. Dümmerth, *Álmos, az áldozat* [Álmos, the Victim], Budapest 1986; Gy. Kristó, *Honfoglaló fejedelmek: Árpád és Kurszán* [Princes of the Conquest: Árpád and Kurszán], Szeged 1993, 16–23, 43–46; Kristó, *Hungarian History*, 165–166.

⁶¹ SRH 1: 287. "*pater Almus in patria Erdelw occisus est, non enim potuit in Pannoniam introire.*"

⁶² Cf. for the biblical comparison Vékony, *Egy kazár felirat*, 383.

⁶³ For Álmos as the first prince, cf. Anonymus, see SRH 1: 39–40; the chronicle of Várád and Zágráb, cf. SRH 1: 206; the chronicle of Albericus Trium Fontium, cf. F. A. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae I. Budapestini* 1938, 23; for Árpád as the first prince see the chronicle of Kézai, SRH 1, 165; fourteenth-century chronicle compilation, cf. SRH 1: 287; for the duality of the Hungarian tradition see, S. L. Tóth, "Az első fejedelem: Árpád vagy Álmos?," [The First Prince: Árpád or Álmos?] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* 113 (1996), 31–41.

by either Bulcsú or the great grandson of Árpád, Termacsu, and in fact Álmos was elected prince in Etelköz.⁶⁴ I would prefer the much earlier, mid-tenth century Hungarian tradition conveyed by Emperor Constantine in chapter 38 of DAI to the ambiguous tradition of the late Hungarian chronicles. Therefore the dubious information concerning Álmos are not enough for assuming a sacral principality.

So if Árpád was regarded the founder of the ruling dynasty around 950, he must have been the *kündü* elected in the earlier homeland of the Hungarians. The leading role of Árpád is confirmed by the chronicle of Georgios Monachos Continuatus (written around 960), who mentioned that the Byzantine envoy met two Hungarian leaders at the Lower Danube, namely Árpád and Kusán, and asked them to attack the Bulgarians in alliance with Byzantium (895).⁶⁵ So Árpád can be considered the first leader of the Hungarian tribes. He was elected as prince (*arkhón*) or *kündü* (perhaps in the 880s), made an agreement with the Byzantine envoy to attack Bulgaria (895) and then he was expelled with his people from Etelköz by the Pechenegs.⁶⁶ He had four sons, one of whom may have followed him as *kündü* after he died, probably in the first decade of the tenth century.⁶⁷ His qualities were emphasized by Emperor Constantine while describing the election and the Khazar ceremony of lifting him upon a shield. He was characterized as "he was of superior parts and greatly admired for wisdom and counsel and valor and capable of rule."⁶⁸ Though this description of his capability (*ideoneitas*) reflects a topos, the necessary qualities of a prince (noble origin, brave and wise), it can be supposed that in the eyes of his contemporaries and for the generation of his grandsons Árpád really represented an outstanding personality, who had the power and founded a ruling dynasty.⁶⁹ Summing up the functions of the *kündü* and the role of the first known Hungarian prince, Árpád, we can mention the

⁶⁴ Bulcsú deceived the emperor, because it was Álmos who defeated his people, the Kavars, cf. Dümmerth, *Álmos*, 28–30; Termacsu deceived the emperor for the sake of the Árpád-dynasty, excluding the possible other offsprings of Álmos, cf. Kristó, *Honfoglaló fejedelmek*, 29–30.

⁶⁵ Cf. HKÍF 147; Gy. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történelem bizánci forrásai*. [The Byzantine Sources of the Hungarian History in the Age of the Árpáds] Budapest 1984. (henceforth: ÁMTBF) 147.

⁶⁶ DAI 172–173. "The Pechenegs fell upon the Turks and drove them out with their prince Árpád" (chapter 38/56–57).

⁶⁷ For his family; the list of his sons and grandsons, cf. DAI 178–179; Anonymus put his death at 907, which can be considered just a relatively good estimation, cf. SRH 1: 106; a hypothesis put his death at 900, cf. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől*, 354–355.

⁶⁸ DAI 172–173 (chapter 38/50–51).

⁶⁹ For the characterization of Árpád, cf. S. L. Tóth, "Levedi és Árpád személyisége," [The Personality of Árpád and Levedi] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis Acta Historica* 107 (1998), 11–15; I. Zimonyi, "The Concept of Nomadic Polity in the Hungarian Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De administrando imperio*," in *Historical and Linguistic Interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe*. ed. Á. Bertha, Szeged 1997, 464–467; for the life and role of Árpád cf. Tóth, *Levediától*, 121–125.

probably ceremonial and symbolical leadership ("riding out") of the military force of the tribes, the participation in negotiations with foreign envoys and in the making of decisions concerning raids (Bulgarian campaign of 895). Although the office of the Hungarian *kündü* shows similarities with the dignity of the Khazar khagan, it seems to me, that it did not become a real sacral institution in the Hungarian tribal federation. Though the khagan probably offered the third Khazar chief dignity (*kndr khagan*) to the Hungarians and Árpád was inaugurated into his office with a Khazar ceremony, the Hungarians just imitated the Khazar system and did not fully reproduce it. On the one hand only the first dignity of the Hungarians was certainly of Khazar origin, in case of the second rank, the *gyula* a similar Khazar title is not known.⁷⁰ On the other hand after the election of Árpád, the Hungarians soon emigrated and settled in the Carpathian basin, so the Khazar influence ceased. Afterwards, with the appearance of a new dignity (*karchas*), the dual principality changed into a kind of triple principality.⁷¹

The second dignity of the Hungarian tribes was the *gyula*. Although in hierarchy it was preceded by the *kündü* or prince, this was an important office. In the end of the ninth century the *gyula* and not the *kündü* was considered the real leader of the Hungarians by the Muslim writers. Ibn Rusta and Gardizī emphasized that all the Hungarians accepted the orders of the *gyula* "in the matter of war and defence and others."⁷² It is evident that the *gyula* was basically a military official, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarians at that time. His function clearly included the leadership of offensive raids and the organization of defense during these campaigns.⁷³ His role can be compared with that of the deputy of the Khazar khagan, called *isad* or *beg*, who organized and led raids.⁷⁴ The *beg*, besides leading the raids, directed state affairs, imposed punishment and kept in touch with the vassal rulers and his superior, the khagan.⁷⁵ Both the *gyula* and the *isad/beg* had the effective power, the real command. The only difference between their functions was, that in case of the deputy ruler of the Khazars, his governing and judiciary tasks were mentioned as well by Muslim sources, while in case of the *gyula* only the military leadership was emphasized. On one hand this difference may be explained with the fact, that we have more sources about the political institutions of the Khazars, than of the Hungarians. On the other hand, according to Emperor Constantine, the *gyula* was a judge.⁷⁶ It can be assumed, that perhaps the *gyula* had not only military, but judiciary power as well

⁷⁰ This title was connected the Bulgarian clan name, Dulo, cf. Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet* I. 28; Macartney, *The Magyars*, 39; one Pecheneg tribe was called Jula, which might be originating from a name of a rank, cf. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 254, 534; however, the *gyula* was held a Khazar dignity by Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 484–485.

⁷¹ For this theory cf. Tóth, *Magyar törzsszövetségi méltóságok*, 28.

⁷² See Notes 17–18.

⁷³ Cf. Tóth, *Levediától*, 107–108.

⁷⁴ The report of Ibn Rusta, see Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók*, I/1. 204–205; Macartney, *The Magyars*, 199–200.

⁷⁵ Cf. Ibn Fadlan, see *Togan*, Ibn Fadlan, 43–44; MEH 96–97.

⁷⁶ *DAI* 178–179.

in the late ninth century. The other possibility would be, that the functions and role of the *gyula* diminished in the tenth century.⁷⁷ It is worth noting, that while the Muslim sources referred just to the military functions of the *kündü* and the *gyula*, Emperor Constantine but related the judiciary functions.⁷⁸ It is impossible to suppose, that the military functions of the Hungarian dignitaries changed into judiciary functions, since the Hungarians led numerous raids in the tenth century as well. I think, that the *gyula* was the substitute of the *kündü* in both military and judiciary affairs. It means, while the *kündü* was just the nominal leader of the warriors, the *gyula* really could organize and led them in raids. The *kündü* might have had some judicial function, but the *gyula* was a real judge. However, it is probable, that the importance of the *gyula* may have diminished with the appearance of the *karkhas* in the tenth century, because two dignitaries shared the military, judiciary and perhaps some governing functions as deputies of the *kündü*. It is a debated question, who wore this dignity around the end of the ninth century. Both Álmos and Árpád were considered *gyula* by some scholars; but regarding the election of Árpád it is not at all probable.⁷⁹ Kusan (Kusal) could be the *gyula*, since he really led raids from about 895 till his death in 904.⁸⁰ Though he was supposed to be the sacral prince, *kündü*,⁸¹ since Anonymus named his father as Cundu,⁸² this theory seems unfounded. On the one hand, Anonymus had no idea, that Cundu was really a dignity and not a name and tried to connect with him a certain Kursan, who might or might not be identical with the real Kusan/Kusal of the contemporary historical sources. On the other hand, if Kusan had been a sacral ruler, he would not have led raids.⁸³ The dignity of the *gyula* was inherited in a clan, so it could become later a personal name as reflected in the Hungarian chronicles.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ For the diminishing role of the *gyula*, cf. Györffy, *Tanulmányok*, 142–143.

⁷⁸ According to an interpretation of the passage concerning the main dignitaries of the Hungarians around 950 in chapter 40 of DAI, it refers to the military leadership of the Hungarians and denotes at the same time state functions as well; the main commander-in-chief was the prince and there were two other commanders, the *gyula* and the *karchas*, who were judges, too, cf. J. Ungváry, "Kephale," in *Studia Varia. Tanulmányok Szádeczky-Kardoss Samu nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Studies for the 80th birthday of Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss] eds. F. Makk, I. Tar, Gy. Wojtilla, Szeged 1998, 148–151.

⁷⁹ For Álmos as the *gyula* till 889, cf. Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, I. 66, 70–71; Györffy, *Tanulmányok*, 79, 84, 142–144.

⁸⁰ For his participation in the negotiation with the Byzantine envoy in 895, cf. Georgius Monachus Continuatus, ÁMTBF 59; for his death in 904, cf. *Annales Alemannici*, MGH SS I. 54, 77; HKÍF 202; for the name and role of Kusan/Kusal cf. Kristó, *Honfoglaló fejedelemek*, 53–93; for him as the *gyula*, see Macartney, *The Magyars*, 178.

⁸¹ For this hypothesis cf. Györffy, *Tanulmányok*, 78, 142, 159; similarly I. Fodor, *Verecke híres útján...* [On the Famous Road of Verecke] Budapest 1975, 203, 232.

⁸² For this information of Anonymus, cf. SRH 1: 41. "Cundu pater Curzan".

⁸³ For the criticism of the Kusan-theory cf. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől*, 167–169.

⁸⁴ For the dignitaries wearing the name of Gyula, cf. entries in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (9–14. század). [Lexicon of Early Hungarian History, 9–14. Centuries] eds. Gy. Kristó (editor-in-chief), E. Pál, F. Makk, Budapest 1994, 245.

The *karkhas* seems to be a new dignity in the Hungarian tribal federation, established probably after the conquest.⁸⁵ The third place in the hierarchy clearly shows, that it is a relatively new rank. It is highly probable, that till around 950 only Kál and his son Bulcsú wore this title.⁸⁶ Besides the judiciary function referred to by Constantine we can assume, that the *karkhas* was a military commander too. It is a fact that Bulcsú led raids till his death in 955.⁸⁷

To sum up the conclusions, we may state, that the Hungarian tribal federation elected Árpád as a prince or *kündü* on the initiative of the Khazar khagan. Soon another dignity was established, the *gyula*. Although the Hungarian *kündü* can be considered the first dignitary, similarly to the khagan, he had just symbolic functions, while the *gyula*, like the *isad/beg* represented the real, effective power. This dual principality resembled the sacral dual kingship of the Khazars, although there might be some minor differences between them. The connections with the Khazars ceased after the Hungarian conquest, so the political institutions of the Hungarians changed a bit with the appearance of a third dignity, the *karkhas*. While the *kündü* from the family of Árpád may be regarded as the ruler with nominal functions, his deputies, the *gyula* and the *karkhas* exercised the military and judiciary power.

⁸⁵ For the title of *karkhas* cf. the entry of A. Márton, in: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*, 269.

⁸⁶ Cf. Note 39.

⁸⁷ Cf. Note 39 and 40.

Der Stellenwert reiternomadischer Bewaffnung und Kriegsführung im Spiegel ihrer zeitgenössischen Kontrahenten

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„Der große Vorteil besteht darin, dass ihnen [i.e. Skythen] niemand entrinnen kann, der gegen sie zieht und dass keiner sie fassen kann, wenn sie sich nicht auffinden lassen wollen. Leute, die sich weder Städte noch Mauern gegründet haben, die ihre Wohnstätten mit sich führen und sämtlich Bogenschützen zu Pferde sind, die nicht vom Ackerbau, sondern von der Viehzucht leben und deren Heim auf Wagen ruht – wie sollte ein solches Volk nicht unbezwingbar und schwer zu stellen sein?“¹

Mit dieser Schilderung über Lebensweise und Charakteristika der skythischen „Reiterbogner“ (ἵπποτοξότης) schuf der häufig als „Vater der Geschichtsschreibung“ titulierte Herodot im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus ein Fundament, das zahlreichen Autoren späterer Jahrhunderte gleichsam als Grundgerüst einer Beschreibung steppennomadischer Ethnien dienen sollte. Da die ersten Wahrnehmungen reiternomadischer Gruppen durch sesshafte – im folgenden Beitrag überwiegend europäische – Kulturen zumeist im Rahmen militärischer Ausei-

¹ Herodot, *Historien*. Griechisch-deutsch herausgegeben von Josef Feix. 2 Bde. München 1963: IV, 46, Bd. 1, S. 537. Zu den bei Herodot unter dem Ethnonym Skythen verstandenen Gruppen, die nicht ausschließlich Nomaden waren, vgl. H. Kothe, „Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot“, *Klio* 51 (1969), S. 15–82. Zu Herodots ethnographischer Vorbild- und Breitenwirkung vgl. K. E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnologie*. Hamburg 1997, S. 98–130; zuletzt zusammenfassend P. J. Geary, *Europäische Völker im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Legende vom Werden der Nationen*. Frankfurt am Main 2002, S. 53–62.

nandersetzungen erfolgten, liegt es auf der Hand, dass der Bewaffnung und Kriegsführung des bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt oft unbekannten Gegners besondere Aufmerksamkeit entgegengebracht wurde. Die unvergleichliche Reitkunst mit ihrer daraus resultierenden Taktik sowie der meisterhafte Umgang und gezielte Einsatz ihrer spezifischen Waffen waren ja auch in der Tat entscheidende Zutaten des militärischen Erfolgsrezepts reiternomadischer Krieger.²

Das Augenmerk des vorliegenden Beitrags gilt jedoch nicht realienkundlichen Details steppennomadischer Bewaffnung und Kriegsführung; vielmehr sollen an dieser Stelle die Eindrücke auf Berichterstatter aus den Reihen der in der Mehrzahl der Fälle unterlegenen Kriegsgegner sowie die daraus abgeleiteten Schlüsse und Stereotypen eingehender beleuchtet werden.

Werfen wir zunächst einen Blick auf die bedeutendste Waffe und zugleich das für die Außenwahrnehmung untrüglichste Erkennungsmerkmal des reiternomadischen Kriegers – den Reflex- oder Kompositbogen.³ Allein schon die im Gefolge Herodots über die Zeiten immer wiederkehrende Behandlung dieses *arcus Scythicus* als klassisches Charakteristikum des Steppennomaden demonstriert in aller Deutlichkeit, welche Bedeutung diesem Utensil von Träger wie Betrachter gleichermaßen beigemessen wurde. So hob etwa Ammianus Marcellinus für die reiternomadischen Alanen die Bewaffnung als derart signifikant hervor, dass ihr eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Zuordnung barbarischer Scharen zu einer be-

² Die beste Gesamtübersicht zum Kriegswesen der steppennomadischen Krieger liefert D. Sinor, „The Inner Asian Warriors,“ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101 (1981), S. 133–44; vgl. außerdem H. Meyer, *Geschichte der Reiterkrieger*. Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln–Mainz 1982, S. 16–82; A. Bracher, *Waffen im Frühmittelalter*. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum Waffengebrauch vom 4. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Phil. Diss. Wien 1990, S. 139–68. Zum Heerwesen einzelner Ethnien vgl. O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen*. Wien–Köln–Graz 1978, S. 155–87; W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa*. 567–822 n.Chr. München 2002, S. 170–74; Ch. R. Bowlus, „Der Weg vom Lechfeld. Die Kriegsführung der Magyaren“, in *Bayern–Ungarn. Tausend Jahre*. Aufsätze zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2001 herausgegeben von Herbert H. Wurster, M. Tremml, R. Loibl. Passau–Regensburg 2001, S. 77–90; D. H. Martin, „The Mongol Army,“ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943), S. 46–85; D. Sinor, „On Mongol Strategy,“ in *Proceedings of the 4th East Asian Altaistic Conference*. Taiwan 1975, S. 238–45; S. Jagchid and P. Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*. Colorado 1979, S. 364–74; J. Richard, „Les causes des victoires Mongoles d'après les historiens occidentaux du XIII^e siècle,“ *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1979), S. 104–17; D. O. Morgan, „The Mongol Armies in Persia,“ *Der Islam* 56 (1979), S. 81–96; D. O. Morgan, *The Mongols*. Oxford 1987, S. 84–96.

³ Vgl. dazu zusätzlich zu den in der vorangehenden Anm. zitierten Untersuchungen Gy. Fabian, „The Hungarian Composit,“ *Journal of the Society of Archer Antiquaries* 13 (1970), S. 12–15; A. Hančar, „Die Bogenwaffe der Skythen,“ *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 102 (1973), S. 3–25; H. Göckenjan, „Die Welt der frühen Reiternomaden,“ in A. Eggebrecht, Hg., *Die Mongolen und ihr Weltreich*. Mainz 1989, S. 7–43, hier S. 11f. A. Bracher, „Der Reflexbogen als Beispiel gentiler Bewaffnung,“ in H. Wolfgram, W. Pohl, Hgg., *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern*. Bd. 1. Wien 1990, S. 137–46; B. Anke, *Studien zur reiternomadischen Kultur des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts*. 2 Bde. Weissbach 1998, I, S. 55–65.

stimmten gens zukam.⁴ Eine Steigerung vom Markenzeichen zum Symbol und Synonym für den Feind aus der Steppe erfuhr der Reflexbogen in einer aus dem nur fragmentarisch überlieferten Gesandtschaftsbericht des byzantinischen Diplomaten Priskos übernommenen Nachricht in der Gotengeschichte des Jordanes. Dieser Überlieferung zufolge soll dem oströmischen Kaiser Markian in der Todesnacht des Hunnenkönigs Attila dessen zerbrochener Bogen im Traum erschienen sein.⁵ Eine gleichartige Symbolik wohnt dieser Fernwaffe ein weiteres Mal bei Ammianus Marcellinus inne, wenn der römische Offizier die Grenze zum Gebiet der Skythen unter anderem anhand der mit der Form ihres Bogens zu vergleichenden Küste des Schwarzen Meeres umreißt.⁶ Indem sich Skythes als Sohn des Jupiter sowie als Erfinder von Pfeil und Bogen Eingang ins antike Pantheon verschaffte, brachte es der skythische Bogen letztlich sogar zu mythologischer Ehre.⁷ Es erscheint in unserem Kontext wenig zielführend, unzählige Quellenstellen expressis verbis ins Treffen führen zu wollen, die dem Bogen der Reiternomaden sowie dessen Handhabung bevorzugte Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Es mag genügen, auf jenen gemeinsamen Nenner zu verweisen, den die meisten Berichterstatte aus dem Gesehenen, Gehörten oder Gelesenen zogen und der sich beispielhaft im 6. Jahrhundert bei Jordanes in Bezug auf die Hunnen⁸ ebenso festmachen lässt wie rund acht Jahrhunderte später im Yüan-shih für die Mongolen: Die Steppennomaden sind hervorragende Bogenschützen und Reiter. Der Verfasser der angesprochenen chinesischen Reichsannalen der mongolischen Yüan-Dynastie ging in seiner conclusio sogar noch ein Stück weiter, indem er in

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Römische Geschichte*. Lateinisch und Deutsch und mit einem Kommentar versehen von Wolfgang Seyfarth. 4 Bde. Berlin 1968–71: XXXI, 2, 17, Bd. IV, S. 248. Zur zeitgenössischen Definition barbarischer gentes auf der Basis dieser Grundhaltung vgl. Bracher, Reflexbogen (wie Anm. 3).

⁵ Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum sive Getica*, Hg. Theodor Mommsen. In MGH AA V/1. Berlin 1882, S. 53–138: XLIX, 255, S. 124: *de quo id accessit mirabile, ut Marciano principi Orientis de tam feroci hoste sollicito in somnis divinitas adsistens arcum Attilae in eadem nocte fractum ostenderet, quasi quod gens ipsa in eo telo multum presumat*. Zu den Quellen der Hunnenpassagen des Jordanes vgl. K. Tausend, *Die Darstellung der Hunnen bei Ammianus Marcellinus, Priskos, Jordanes und den lateinischen Dichtern und Panegyrikern*. Phil. Diss. Graz 1984, S. 88–123. Zur eminenten Bedeutung des Bogens in der hunnischen Lebenswelt, die sich aus archäologischer Sicht besonders gut an den goldverzierten Bögen in den Gräbern des Adels und der Kriegerschicht dokumentieren lässt, vgl. P. Tomka, „Tracht, Bewaffnung und soziale Schichtung,“ in *Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen und Awaren*. Begleitbuch und Katalog der burgenländischen Landesausstellung 1996. Eisenstadt 1996, S. 127–45, hier S. 128–30.

⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus (wie Anm. 4): XXII, 8, 10, Bd. III, S. 22: ... *in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati geographiae totius assensione formatus*.

⁷ C. Plinius Secundus der Ältere, *Naturalis Historiae*. Libri XXXVII ed. R. König und G. Winkler. Darmstadt 1975: VII, 57, 201, S. 142: *arcum et sagittam Scythen, Iovis filium, ... invenisse dicunt*.

⁸ Jordanes (wie Anm. 5), XXIV, 128, S. 91: ... *ad equitandum promptissimi ... et ad arcus sagittasque parati* ...

Bogen und Pferd letztlich das ursächlichste Erfolgsgeheimnis der mongolischen Weltherrschaft vermutete.⁹

In den beiden zuletzt zitierten Beispielen wird – aus ethnographischer Sicht auch keineswegs zu Unrecht – die Bedeutung des Pferdes für das Leben und die Kriegsführung des Steppennomaden betont. Doch auch hier interessieren nicht die vielen authentischen Berichte über die wendigen und genügsamen Pferde, die reiternomadische Kontingente in oft riesigen Herden auf ihren Kriegszügen mit sich führten. Der Blick soll wiederum auf jene Schlussfolgerungen gerichtet werden, die aus der Wahrnehmung dieses Umstandes gezogen wurden und sich zum Stereotyp verknäpften. Am Beispiel der Hunnen unterzog etwa Ammianus Marcellinus die Beziehung der Steppennomaden zu ihren Pferden einer genauen Analyse. Analog zum Reiter waren für ihn auch die Pferde hässlich aber ausdauernd. Der Sattel bildete praktisch den natürlichen Lebensraum der von Ammian als zweibeinige Bestien (*bipedes bestiae*) verachteten Hunnen, die mit ihrem Reittier verschmolzen schienen. Alle Handlungen des Alltags – von der Nahrungsaufnahme, über Handel und Schlaf bis hin zur Verrichtung körperlicher Bedürfnisse, für die sie vorübergehend den Damensitz einnahmen – gingen am Rücken der Pferde über die Bühne. Aus der eigenwilligen Form der weichen hunnischen Reiterstiefel folgte der ehemalige römische Offizier, dass sie für den Kampf zu Fuß völlig ungeeignet seien.¹⁰ Abgesehen vom Fehlen der letzten Schlussfolgerung Ammians klingt die an klassische Vorbilder angelehnte Schilderung der nur auf dem Pferderücken lebenden Ungarn bei Regino von Prüm am Ausgang des 9. Jahrhunderts praktisch gleich.¹¹ Der römische Dichter Claudian verglich die Hunnen in seiner 396 entstandenen Invektive gegen Rufinus, den hunnenfreundlichen Gegner seines Förderers Stilicho, überhaupt mit Kentauren und goss damit die Verschmelzung von Pferd und Reiter in klassisch-mythologische Gestalt.¹²

⁹ Yüan-shih (zitiert nach S. Jagchid, Ch. R. Bawden, „Some Notes on the Horse-Policy of the Yüan Dynasty,“ *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965), S. 246–68, hier S. 246): „Mongols are good at riding and archery. Therefore they took possession of the world through this advantage of bow and horse.“

¹⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus (wie Anm. 4): XXXI, 2, 6, Bd. IV, S. 244. Zum Hunnenexkurs und Hunnenbild bei Ammian vgl. Tausend, Darstellung (wie Anm. 5), S. 5–40; J. Giebauf, *Bilder und Topoi vom eurasischen Steppennomaden im Spiegel der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Geschichtsquellen des lateinischen Westens*. Phil. Diss. Graz 2000, S. 46–57.

¹¹ *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treuerensi*, ed. F. Kurze. Hannover 1890: ad annum 889, S. 133; Regino von Prüm, *Chronik*. in R. Rau, Hg., *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*. 3. Teil. Berlin 1960, S. 179–319, hier S. 286: *Equis omni tempore vectantur; super illos ire, consistere, meditari ac colloqui solent. Liberos ac servos suos equitare et sagittare magna industria docent*. Zu Reginos Ungarnbild und seiner Abhängigkeit von antiken Vorlagen vgl. unten Anm. 34.

¹² H. L. Levy, ed., *Claudian's in Rufinum: An Exegetical Commentary*. Princeton 1971: Liber I, vv. 321–331, S. 290f.: *Est genus extremos Scythiae vergentis in ortus/ Trans gelidum Tainain, quo non famosius ullum/ Arctos alit. Turpes habitus obscaenae visu/ Corpora, mens duro nunquam cessura labori./ Praeda cibus, vilanda Ceres frontemque secare/ Lusus et occisos pulchrum iurare parentes. Nec plus nubigenas duplex natura bifformes/ Cognatis aptavit equis. Acerrima nullo/ Ordine mobilitas insperatque recursus*. Vgl. dazu Tausend, Darstellung

Nur wenig später umriss der heilige Hieronymus die Gottesstrafe seiner Tage mit ähnlichen Stereotypen. Für den verängstigten Kirchenvater waren hässliche Feinde über das Imperium hereingebrochen, die nicht in der Lage waren, einen Fuß vor den anderen zu setzen und von sich selbst glaubten, sterben zu müssen, wenn sie die Erde berührten.¹³ Mit Zosimos, der einen Großteil seiner Informationen über die Hunnen wohl aus dem verlorenen Geschichtswerk des Eunapios (ca. 345/46–420 n. Chr.) übernahm, verstand es um etwa 500 auch noch ein heidnischer Historiograph, in dieselbe Kerbe zu schlagen wie Hieronymus.¹⁴ Einen analogen Schluss zog schließlich auch der nicht eindeutig zu identifizierende Verfasser eines dem byzantinischen Kaiser Maurikios zugeschriebenen Militärhandbuchs aus der Beobachtung der Awaren: „Sie leben nämlich auf den Pferden und steigen nicht ab, können auch nicht auf den Füßen stehen, weil sie mit den Pferden verwachsen sind und wegen mangelnder Gelegenheit nicht zu Fuß gehen“.¹⁵ Ähnlich bezeichnend gestaltet sich in dieser Hinsicht ein Eintrag in der Suda am Ausgang des 10. Jahrhunderts. Zur Erklärung des Begriffs ακροσφαλεις (stolpernder Gang) wählte diese byzantinische Enzyklopädie nämlich den Vergleich mit dem sich zu Fuß fortbewegenden Hunnen,¹⁶ und kaum anders lautete

(wie Anm. 5), S. 132; A. Cameron, *Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, Oxford 1970, S. 63–92; Gießauf, *Bilder* (wie Anm. 10), S. 70f.

- ¹³ Hieronymus, *Epistula* LX, 17 (Patrologia Latina XXIII: S. 601): *Nostris peccatis Barbari fortes sunt. Nostris vitiis Romanus superatur exercitus. ... Romanus exercitus, victor orbis et dominus, ab his vincitur, hos pavet, horum terretur aspectu, qui ingredi non valent, qui si terram tetigerint, se mortuos arbitrantur.* Vgl. dazu auch G. Signori, „Frauen, Kinder, Greise und Tyrannen. Geschlecht und Krieg in der Bilderwelt des späten Mittelalters,“ in K. Schreiner, G. Signori, Hgg., *Bilder, Texte, Rituale. Wirklichkeitsbezug und Wirklichkeitskonstruktion politisch-rechtlicher Kommunikationsmedien in Stadt- und Adelsgesellschaften des späten Mittelalters*. Berlin 2000, S. 139–64, hier S. 144f.; Gießauf, *Bilder* (wie Anm. 10), S. 57f.
- ¹⁴ Zosimos, *Neue Geschichte*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Otto Veh, durchgesehen und erläutert von Stefan Rebenich. Stuttgart 1990: XX, 4, S. 169: „Zwar vermochten und wußten sie ganz und gar nicht eine regelrechte Feldschlacht im Nahkampf anzufechten – wie wären ja auch sie, die nicht einmal ihre Füße fest auf den Boden zu setzen imstande waren, sondern dauernd auf ihren Pferden saßen und darauf sogar schliefen, dazu fähig gewesen? –, verstanden sich aber wohl auf Umzingelungen, Vorstöße und geschickte Rückzüge und richteten so, indem sie selbst von ihren Pferden aus mit Pfeilen schossen, unter den Skythen [= Goten] ein riesiges Blutbad an.“ Vgl. dazu auch B. Zásterová, „Ethnika in den Werken frühbyzantinischer Historiker,“ in F. Winkelmann und W. Brandes. Hgg., *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert)*. Amsterdam 1990, S. 180–89, hier S. 181.
- ¹⁵ *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*. Einführung, Edition und Indices von G. T. Dennis, Übersetzung von E. Gamillscheg. Wien 1981: XI, 2, S. 365. Vgl. zu diesem Werk außerdem B. Zásterová, *Les Avars et les Slaves dans la tactique de Maurice*. Prag 1971, S. 15–44, zu diesem Topos besonders S. 26.
- ¹⁶ Zitiert nach J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. London 1989, S. 333.

noch im 19. Jahrhundert das Urteil eines Reisenden, der die Reiternomaden des Altaigebietes beschrieb.¹⁷

Die beobachtete oder durch Informanten respektive literarische Vorlagen in Erfahrung gebrachte, enge Beziehung zwischen Reiter und Pferd konnte aber noch zu viel weitreichenderen „Erkenntnissen“ führen. Diese konnten ihrerseits wieder Generationen später als literarisches Schema bei der Beschreibung von Hirtennomaden oder bei der Herabwürdigung der Nachkommen ehemaliger Reiterkrieger zum Einsatz kommen. Dazu gehört unter anderem fraglos der Topos des Weichreitens rohen Fleisches unter dem Sattel. Ammianus unterstellte den Hunnen, derart notdürftig gegarte Speisen zu konsumieren, der bayerische Landsknecht Hans Schiltberger tat das gleiche in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts im Falle der turk-mongolischen Kontingente Timurlenks und noch zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts sahen sich ungarische Soldaten mit dem Vorwurf dieses vorgeblich reiterkriegerischen Erbes konfrontiert.¹⁸ In unmittelbarer Nähe zu diesem Motiv stehen Berichte darüber, dass Reiternomaden ihre Pferde bei Bedarf zur Ader ließen, um sie damit als mobile Nahrungsquelle zu nutzen. Im Vordergrund der Beschreibung dieses zweifellos authentischen Usus stand allerdings nicht ethnographisches Interesse. Das Schwergewicht der Berichterstattung lag auf der Abscheu davor und der damit verbundenen Konzeption der Reiterkrieger als rohe Wilde. Unverkennbar ist diese Haltung etwa in den Nachrichten über Hunnen, Kumanen und Turk-Mongolen aus den Federn Claudians,¹⁹ Isidors von Sevilla,²⁰ des Niketas Choniates²¹ und des Hans Schiltberger²². Mit der Fest-

¹⁷ Wilhelm Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*. 2 Bde. Leipzig 1884, Bd. I, S. 287: „Zu gehen versteht der Altajer gar nicht. Sein Gang ist schleppend, wackelnd und sehr langsam; dazu trägt auch seine besonders ungeschickte Fußbekleidung bei. ... Sobald aber der Altajer zu Pferd steigt, ändert sich seine ganze Körperhaltung. Hier fühlt er sich am Platze. ... Pferd und Reiter verschmelzen zu einem Ganzen.“

¹⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus (wie Anm. 4): XXXI, 2, 3, Bd. IV, S. 244; Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch nach der Nürnberger Handschrift herausgegeben von Valentin Langmantel (= Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 172). Tübingen 1885: XXXVII, S. 65. Vgl. dazu A. Solymossy, „La légende de „la viande amortie sous la selle,“ *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 30 (1937), S. 134–40; Tausend, Darstellung (wie Anm. 5), S. 11; Matthews, Roman Empire (wie Anm. 16), S. 377f.; Gießauf, Bilder (wie Anm. 10), S. 48f., Anm. 145.

¹⁹ Levy, Claudian's in Rufinum (wie Anm. 12): I, vv. 311f., S. 290f.: ... *et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax Massagetes* ...

²⁰ *Sancti Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*. in MGH AA XI, S. 267–303: XXIX, S. 279: *adeo autem haec gens [sc. Huni] horrida est, ut, cum famem in bello fuerit passa, venam tangat equi et sic excludat hausto sanguine famem*.

²¹ Die Krone der Komnenen. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Joannes und Manuel Komnenos (1118–1180) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates übersetzt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von F. Grabler. Graz–Wien–Köln 1958: II, 7, S. 132: „Das Pferd trägt den Skythen im Frieden sowie in dem viele Stöße versetzenden Kampf, es bietet ihm, wie man sagt, aus der aufgeritzten Schlagader Nahrung ...“.

²² Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch (wie Anm. 18): XXXVII, S. 62: „Auch ist chain streytpars volck unter den heyden, dann die roten Tatern sein und das pas geleyden müg in rai-

stellung, dass die Stuten darüber hinaus dazu dienten, die viehischen Gelüste ihrer Herren zu befriedigen, griff Niketas Choniates bei der Beschreibung der Kurmanen in die tiefste Schublade des Vorurteils von der Verschmelzung von Reiter und Pferd.²³

Herodot hatte in seiner eingangs zitierten Beschreibung der Skythen aus den Komponenten Bogen und Pferd den Reiterbogner gleichsam als Musterbeispiel und ethnographischen Gattungsbegriff geformt. Orientierten sich auch zahlreiche Autoren der Antike und des Mittelalters, insbesondere im byzantinischen Raum, am autoritativen Vorbild seines Skythenlogos, so war die Reduktion auf diese primären Charakteristika in der Beschreibung steppennomadischer Krieger keineswegs reine literarische Tradition.²⁴ Denn auch in Quellen des nahen und fernen Ostens präsentieren sich völlig gleichartig gelagerte stereotype Wendungen als Wahrnehmungskern hirtennomadischer Steppenkrieger. Verantwortlich dafür zeichnet die Phänomenologie des Stereotyps, das zur Schaffung von Identifikationsmerkmalen in zumeist drastisch vereinfachender Verallgemeinerung tatsächlicher Merkmale komplexe Sachverhalte auf Schlagworte reduziert.²⁵ Das macht auch erklärlich, warum chinesische Quellen Steppennomaden generell unter dem Überbegriff der „bogenspannenden Völker“ zusammenfassten oder weshalb ein armenischer Mönch in den 1270er Jahren seine Beschreibung der Mongolen als „Geschichte des Volks der Bogenschützen“ betitelte.²⁶

In vielen Fällen erschöpfte sich die Beschreibung der Reiterbogner jedoch nicht in den bislang skizzierten Elementen. In militärtechnischen Fragen wurden nämlich Kampftechnik und Taktik keine geringere Aufmerksamkeit zuteil als der – wie auch immer gedeuteten – perfekten Harmonie zwischen dem grausamen und gnadenlosen Bogenschützen und seinem Pferd. Das Gefecht aus der Ferne mit einem Pfeilhagel eröffnend, war es vorrangiges Ziel, die gegnerischen Reihen in Unordnung oder Auflösung zu bringen. Nicht hohe Treffsicherheit, sondern die gestiftete Konfusion bescherten ihnen ausschlaggebende Vorteile im Gefecht.

sen und in kriegem, wann ich han gesehen von den Tattern, das sie den rössern haben in ein adern geschlagen und haben das plutt aufgefangen und haben das gesoten und habens gaß“.

²³ Die Krone der Komnenen (wie Anm. 21): II, 7, S. 132.

²⁴ Zum Problem der Nachahmung literarischer Vorbilder insbesondere in der Ethnographie der Antike und des Mittelalters vgl. R. Benedicty, „Die historische Authentizität eines Berichtes des Priskos,“ in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 13 (1964), S. 1–8; R. Dostálová, „Frühbyzantinische Profanhistoriker,“ in *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz* (wie Anm. 14), S. 156–79, hier S. 170–79; Gießauf, *Bilder* (wie Anm. 10), S. 18–20.

²⁵ Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich H. Bausinger, „Name und Stereotyp,“ in *Stereotypenvorstellungen im Alltagsleben*. Beiträge zum Themenkreis Fremdbilder – Selbstbilder – Identität. Festschrift für Georg R. Schroubek hgg. von H. Gerndt. München 1988, S. 13–19, hier 13f.

²⁶ *History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)* by Grigor of Akanc'. Hitherto ascribed to Magak'ia the Monk. The Armenien Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes by P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949), S. 269–399.

Gelang es nämlich, isolierte Truppenteile des Gegners zur Verfolgung eigener Kontingente zu verleiten, kam die Taktik der verstellten Flucht zum Tragen. Unter dem Vorwand sich zurückzuziehen, sich gegen den Verfolger auch noch im vorgeblichen Rückzug mit einem massiven Pfeilhagel zur Wehr setzend, wurde der siegessichere Feind in Hinterhalte gelockt, wo ihm bereitgestellte Verbände auflauerten. Es nimmt nicht wunder, dass wiederum zahlreiche Autoren unterschiedlichster zeitlicher wie geographischer Herkunft gerade dieses Verhalten zu einem zentralen Element reiternomadischer Phänomenologie hochstilisierten.²⁷

Was bereits Platon als die „skythische Taktik“ kannte,²⁸ war für spätantike Beobachter die „hunnische Kampfweise“.²⁹ Das an der Wende vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert entstandene Strategikon des Maurikios widmete sich dieser Scheinflucht der Türken und Awaren in aller Ausführlichkeit,³⁰ während der fränkische Chronist Fredegar die fingierte Flucht der Hunnen respektive Awaren eher episodenhaft in seine etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert später entstandene Darstellung einbaute.³¹ Liudprand von Cremona zufolge war der bayerische Herzog Ludwig vermutlich im Jahre 910 in einen derartigen Hinterhalt der Ungarn geraten,³² deren heimtückische Kriegsführung zuvor bereits Regino von Prüm ausführlich zu beklagen gewusst hatte.³³ Wie Liudprand schöpfte jedoch auch der lothringische Abt dabei keineswegs aus authentischen Augenzeugenberichten; vielmehr baute Regino seine Darstellung nahezu wörtlich auf die Beschreibung der „skythischen“, will heißen reiterkriegerischen, Parther im Geschichtswerk des Justinus auf.³⁴ Ähnliche Worte fand der byzantinische Historiograph Niketas Choniates

²⁷ Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich Göckenjan, Reiternomaden (wie Anm. 3), S. 11f.; Gießauf, Bilder (wie Anm. 10), S. 14f.

²⁸ Platon, *Laches* 191a (Platon, *Werke* in acht Bänden griechisch und deutsch herausgegeben von G. Eigler. Bd. 1, Darmstadt 1977, S. 219–85, hier S. 255): „Wie ja von den Skythen gesagt wird, dass sie nicht minder fliehend als verfolgend den Feind bekriegen.“

²⁹ J. D. Frendo, ed., *Agathias*. Berlin 1975: I, 22, 1, S. 30f. Agathias schildert die vom oströmischen Feldherrn Narses im Kampf gegen die Franken eingesetzte Taktik der verdeckten Flucht ausdrücklich unter der Bezeichnung „List der Hunnen“. Ähnlich auch Zosimos (wie Anm. 14): XX, 4, S. 169.

³⁰ Maurikios, *Strategikon* (wie Anm. 15): IV, 2, S. 195 sowie XI, 2, S. 365. Vgl. dazu auch unten Anm. 48.

³¹ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, ed. B. Krusch. in MGH SS rer. Mer. II. Hannover 1888, S. 1–193: II, 57, S. 80f.; H. Wolfram, A. Kuster-nig, H. Haupt, Hgg., *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*. Darmstadt 1982, S. 56.

³² *Liudprandi episcopi Cremonensis opera omnia*. ed. E. Dümmler. Hannover 1877: Antapodosis II, 4, S. 29; *Liudprandi Liber Antapodosos*. in A. Bauer, R. Rau, Hgg., *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*. Darmstadt 1977, S. 244–495: II, 4, S. 300f.

³³ Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis *Chronicon* (wie Anm. 11) ad annum 889, S. 133; Regino von Prüm, *Chronik* (wie Anm. 11), S. 286.

³⁴ *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi accedunt prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, ed. O. Seel. Leipzig 1935: XLI, 2, S. 277f.; Pompeius Trogus, *Weltgeschichte von den Anfängen bis Augustus im Auszug des Justin*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und

für die Kumanen des ausgehenden 12. Jahrhunderts, die bei diesem in traditionell archaisierender Diktion als Skythen firmieren.³⁵ Zeitgenössische arabische und persische Quellen wussten über unterschiedliche steppennomadische Ethnien beinahe Gleichlautendes zu berichten. Darüber hinaus lieferten sie für diese offenkundig beeindruckende Vorgangsweise zum Teil auch noch interessante Erklärungsansätze, deren Wurzeln zweifellos in antiken Klimatheorien lagen. Denn ihren Schlussfolgerungen gemäß resultierte die Geschicklichkeit der reiternomadischen Krieger – insbesondere die Fähigkeit, Pfeile im vollen Ritt gegen die eigentliche Fluchtrichtung abzufeuern – aus deren Herkunft aus den „Nordländern“. Allein diese Abstammung befähigte sie zu derartigen Verrenkungen, die sesshaften Bewohnern „südlicher“ Regionen physisch gar nicht möglich waren.³⁶ Eine beträchtliche Zahl von Autoren schließlich beschrieb ab der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts die Scheinflucht der Mongolen, die für diese Strategie selbst den Terminus „Kampf der Hunde“ geprägt hatten.³⁷ Ihren Vorläufern und zum Teil Vorbildern gleich gingen auch die Zeitgenossen der Mongolen an ihre Schilderungen nicht selten mit einer Mischung aus Abscheu vor der Hinterhältigkeit und mehr oder minder verhohlener Bewunderung für die Effizienz dieser reiternomadischen Taktik heran – unabhängig davon, ob es sich um chinesische,³⁸ per-

erläutert von O. Seel. Zürich–München 1972, S. 440. Zum Bild der Ungarn in Reginos Werk vgl. F. Rühl, *Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter*. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung. Leipzig 1871, S. 12–14; M. Manitius, „Regino und Justinus“, *Neues Archiv* 25 (1900), S. 192–201; H. Löwe, „Regino von Prüm und das historische Weltbild der Karolingerzeit“, *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter* 17 (1952), S. 151–79, hier S. 163–71; H. Göckenjan, „Die Landnahme der Ungarn aus der Sicht der zeitgenössischen ostfränkisch-deutschen Quellen“, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher n.F.* 13 (1994), S. 1–17; hier S. 9–12; Gießauf, *Bilder* (wie Anm. 10), S. 107–112.

³⁵ *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios II. Andronikos und Isaak Angelos (1180–1195) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und kommentiert von F. Grabler. Graz–Wien–Köln 1958: S. 27: „Einem Angreifer weichen sie aus und reiten mit Vorsprung davon, und während der Flucht selbst schießen sie mit umgewandtem Bogen zurück.“ ... und S. 30: „... indem sie zugleich zurückwichen und angriffen, wie es eben ihre Art beim Kämpfen ist“.

³⁶ R. I. Meserve, „The Inhospitable Land of the Barbarian“, *Journal of Asian History* 16 (1982), S. 51–89, hier S. 73. Zu Völkercharakterisierungen auf Basis von Klimatheorien vgl. ibidem S. 82–89; D. Timpe, „Entdeckungsgeschichte“, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 7 (1988), S. 307–91, hier S. 342f., 376–87; Gießauf, *Bilder* (wie Anm. 10) S. 15–17.

³⁷ *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Aus dem Mongolischen übertragen und kommentiert von M. Taube. München 1989: § 194, S. 120.

³⁸ So etwa P'eng Ta-ya im *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* cap. 45. in *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237. Nach Vorarbeiten von E. Haenisch und Y. Ts'ung-wu übersetzt und kommentiert von P. Olbricht und E. Pinks. Wiesbaden 1980, S. 191. Im Han-zeitlichen *Shih-chi* heißt es über die Hsiung-nu: „Sind sie aber im Nachteil, dann ziehen sie sich zurück und scheuen sich nicht vor einem fluchtartigen Rückzug, und zwar dorthin, wo sich eine günstige Stellung einnehmen lässt.“ Zitiert nach J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Ge-*

sische,³⁹ arabische,⁴⁰ armenische⁴¹ oder abendländische⁴² Berichterstatter handelte. Ebenso konstant wie der Inhalt präsentiert sich dabei die Mischung aus Berichten, die auf Autopsie und eigenen Erfahrungen beruhten, und Darstellungen, die Gewährsleuten und literarischen Autoritäten ihr Vertrauen schenkten.

Der aufgrund dieser Beobachtung, die eben nicht selten auch nur eine Lese Frucht darstellen konnte, um das Element der Verschlagenheit erweiterte Topos vom Reiterbogner bildete für zahlreiche Angehörige sesshafter Ackerbaukulturen das Fundament für einen ihrer vorrangigen Schlüsse über den in Lebensweise, Kultur und eben auch im Kriegswesen Anderen: Der Reiternomade verkörperte für sie den Krieger *par excellence*. Die häufigen Konfrontationen und die überlegene Kriegstechnik brachten somit die bis unsere Tage stetig wiederkehrende Wendung vom „zum Krieg geborenen Steppenreiter“ hervor, die sich in den Quellen losgelöst von Zeit und Herkunft des Verfassers präsentiert.

Schon Aristoteles bezeichnete die Hirten aufgrund ihrer Lebensgewohnheiten generell als besonders kriegstauglich.⁴³ Thukydides hielt die Skythen – wenn auch intellektuell und kulturell eher minderbemittelt – schlichtweg für militärisch unüberwindlich.⁴⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus bedachte die Hunnen mit dem

schichte Asiens. Teil 1: *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*. Berlin–Leipzig 1921, S. 3. Zu weiteren Beispielen aus dem chinesischen Raum vgl. C. C. Müller, „Barbaren bis in die Zehenspitzen“ – Die frühen Mongolen in chinesischer Sicht,“ in W. Heissig, C. C. Müller, Hgg., *Die Mongolen*. Innsbruck–Frankfurt a. Main 1989, S. 30–38, hier S. 36.

³⁹: *The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*. Translated from the Text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J. A. Boyle, 2 vols. Manchester 1958: I, S. 125. Zu weiteren orientalischen Quellen entsprechenden Inhalts vgl. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*, Leipzig 1939, S. 414.

⁴⁰ Unter anderem der berühmte Arzt und Naturwissenschaftler Ibn al-Labbād: J. von Somogyi, „Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren im 'Ta'rīḥ al-Islām' von aḍ-Ḍahabī,“ *Der Islam* 24 (1937), S. 105–30, hier S. 114.

⁴¹ Hethum von Gorchigos, *Flos historiarum terre orientis*. in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*. Tom. II: Documents Latins et Français relatifs à l'Arménie. Paris 1906, S. 255–363: III, 49, S. 338.

⁴² *Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta*, ed. L. Juhász. in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 2, Budapest 1938, S. 543–88: XX, XXI, XXVII, S. 564f., 569; Matthaeus Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard. 7 Bde. London 1872–83: VI, S. 83; *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine*. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar herausgegeben von J. Gießauf. Graz 1995: VI, 13, S. 103 bzw. 187 (sowie Anm. 526 mit weiteren Quellen- und Literaturverweisen); Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*. ed. J. Richard. Paris 1965: XXX, 81, S. 44; Marco Polo, *Il Milione*. Prima edizione integrale a cura di L. F. Benedetto. Florenz 1928: LXX, S. 56; Sigismund zu Herberstein, *Reise zu den Moskowitern 1526*. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Traudl Seifert. München 1966: CCXXII, S. 218.

⁴³ Aristoteles, *Politik*, Buch IV–VI. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von E. Schütrumpf. Berlin 1996: VI, 4, S. 97.

⁴⁴ Thukydides, *Geschichte des Peloponnesischen Krieges*. Griechisch-deutsch. Übersetzt und mit einer Einführung und Erläuterung versehen von G. P. Landmann. 2 Bde. München 1993: II, 97, 5f., Bd. 1, S. 331.

Epitheton der „furchtbarsten von allen Kriegern“⁴⁵ und Theodor Synkellos stellte in den 620er Jahren in einer Predigt über die Awaren fest, dass der Krieg das Leben dieses wilden Volkes sei⁴⁶ – beinahe die gleichen Worte hatte der Chinese Ssu-ma Ch'ien schon ca. 200 v. Chr. für die Hsiung-nu gefunden.⁴⁷ Praktisch den identen Wortlaut, mit dem das Kaiser Maurikios (582–602) zugeschriebene Militärhandbuch die türkischen und awarischen Heere als vielseitige und ausschließlich für den Krieg lebende Verbände charakterisierte, verwendete rund drei Jahrhunderte später Leon VI. (886–912) zur Beschreibung der Ungarn.⁴⁸ Die „unüberwindliche mongolische Armee“ wurde vom Perser Juvaini Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts gleich beurteilt⁴⁹ wie von seinem abendländischen Zeitgenossen, dem Archidiakon Thomas von Spalato.⁵⁰ 1247 legte Johannes von Piano Carpine den abendländischen Ritterheeren als Ergebnis seiner Feldforschungen am Hof des Großkhans Güyük ans Herz, sich an den genügsamen und disziplinierten mongolischen Kriegern ein Beispiel zu nehmen. Der weitgereiste Franziskaner resümierte, dass man der Bedrohung nur durch Anpassung an ihre überlegene Kriegstechnik und schlichte Lebensweise Herr werden könne.⁵¹ Nicht einmal ein Jahrzehnt später kam sein flämischer Ordensbruder Wilhelm von Rubruk im Rahmen seines an König Ludwig IX. von Frankreich adressierten Reiseberichts

⁴⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus (wie Anm. 4): XXXI, 2, 9, Bd. IV, S. 244: ... *omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores* ...

⁴⁶ Theodor Synkellos, *Homilia de obsidione Avarica Constantinopolis VI*, 26f.: ἐθνη ἀγροὺν βίος ὁ πόλεμος. Zitiert nach Pohl, *Awaren* (wie Anm. 2), S. 168; Sinor, *Inner Asian Warriors* (wie Anm. 2), S. 134.

⁴⁷ „Mit stürmender Hand Einfälle machen und angreifen, das liegt in ihrer Natur.“ Zitiert nach de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden* (wie Anm. 38), S. 3.

⁴⁸ Maurikios, *Strategikon* (wie Anm. 15): XI, 2, S. 361. und Leon VI., *Τα ἐν πολεμοῖς τακτικά* XVIII, 43–60; Das *Strategikon* des Maurikios schöpfte wie die sogenannte „Taktik“ des Kaisers Leon VI., die viele Passagen aus Maurikios lediglich leicht modifiziert übernahm, trotz der fraglosen Realitätsbezüge bei der Behandlung reiternomadischer Kriegsführung zugleich auch aus einem einschlägigen „kollektiven Wissen“ namhafter Autoren vergangener Jahrhunderte. Vgl. dazu und zu den engen Verbindungen zwischen diesen beiden Militärhandbüchern Gy. Moravcsik, „La tactique de Léon le sage comme source historique Hongroise“, *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1952), S. 161–80; Zăsterová, *Avares* (wie Anm. 15) 15ff.

⁴⁹ Juvaini (wie Anm. 39): I, S. 29f.

⁵⁰ Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. Fr. Rački. Zagreb 1894: XXXVII, S. 169: *Sed non est gens in mundo, que tantam habeat bellandi periciam, que ita sciat, maxime in campetri conflictu, hostes evincere, sive virtute, sive sagacitate pugnando.*

⁵¹ Johannes von Piano Carpine (wie Anm. 42) cap. VI, S. 101–04 bzw. 182–90: *De bello, et ordinatione acierum, et armis, et astutiis in congressione, et crudelitate captivorum, et oppugnatione munitionum, et perfidia eorum in iis qui se reddunt eisdem.* Kapitel VIII, S. 107–11 bzw. 198–204, widmete er seiner Meinung nach unerlässlichen Gegenmaßnahmen vereinter europäischer Streitkräfte zur Prävention gegen einen neuerlichen Angriff der Mongolen: *Quomodo bello Tartaris occurratur, et quid attendunt, et de armis et ordinatione acierum, et quomodo occurratur eorum astutiis in pugna, et munitione castrorum et civitatum, et quid faciendum est de captivis.*

zu analogen Schlussfolgerungen.⁵² Diese Reihe von Beispielen ist weit davon entfernt, den Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erheben zu können, doch reicht sie meines Erachtens aus, um diesen für die Komposition des Reiternomadenbildes zweifelsfrei wesentlichen Grundton kenntlich zu machen.

Militärisch interessierte Berichtersteller konnten ihre Bewunderung für die Schlagkraft und die Erfolge reiternomadischer Armeen gelegentlich kaum verhehlen.⁵³ Die Mehrzahl der Berichte erfuhr seine Prägung allerdings durch den Schrecken, den die reiternomadische Kriegsführung bei den Heimgesuchten hinterließ. Zu der schon sehr früh dokumentierbaren, teilweise prinzipiell ablehnenden Haltung Ackerbautreibender gegenüber Hirtenkulturen⁵⁴ war mit der Spezialisierung auf das als besonders grausam und hinterhältig wahrgenommene steppennomadische Reiterkriegertum eine weitere Komponente hinzugegetreten.

Dass die militärische Überlegenheit der Reiternomaden ihre realen Wurzeln in den seit frühester Jugend trainierten Reit-, Jagd-, Waffen- und Kampftechniken sowie der disziplinierten Struktur der steppennomadischen Gesellschaften und Heere hatte,⁵⁵ konnten oder wollten nur wenige Autoren erkennen⁵⁶ – und selbst

⁵² Guillelmus de Rubruc, *Itinerarium*. in P. Anastasius van Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana I. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*. Quaracchi 1929, S. 147–332; Epilog, 4, S. 331: *Fidenter dico si vellent vestri rustici, non dicam Reges et milites, ire sicut vadunt Reges Tartarorum et talibus esse cibariis contenti, possent acquirere totum mundum*.

⁵³ Vgl. etwa einen Brief Kaiser Friedrichs II. über den Mongoleneinfall von 1241 an den englischen König Heinrich III. Überliefert bei Matthäus Paris (wie Anm. 42), IV, S. 112–19.

⁵⁴ Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich L. Vajda, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Hirtenkulturen*. Wiesbaden 1968, S. 35–50; B. D. Shaw, „Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk‘: The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad“ *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/83), S. 5–31.

⁵⁵ Zur strengen Gliederung steppennomadischer Gesellschaften und Armeen nach dem Dezimalsystem vgl. H. Göckenjan, „Zur Stammesstruktur und Heeresorganisation altaischer Völker. Das Dezimalsystem,“ in K.-D. Grothusen, K. Zernack, Hgg., *Europa Slavica – Europa Orientalis*. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat, Berlin 1980, S. 51–86; B. J. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols. Le féodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, S. 131–43. Zur Disziplin als zentralem Element mongolischer Feldzugskonzeption vgl. Sinor, *Mongol Strategy* (wie Anm. 2).

⁵⁶ Die von Kindesbeinen an vom steppennomadischen Alltag diktierte ständige „Manövertätigkeit“ beschreibt Ssu-ma Ch’ien im Shih-chi für die Hsiung-nu: „Bereits die Kinder können Hammel und Schafe reiten, spannen Bogen und schießen Vögel, Wiesel und Ratten; größer geworden schießen sie Füchse und Hasen, die zur Ernährung dienen.“ Zitiert nach de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden* (wie Anm. 38), S. 3. Den frühen Beginn des Reittrainings bei den Hunnen konstatiert Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen II, Panegyricus Anthemio Augusto vv 262f.* (*Gai Sollii Apoīlinaris Sidonii, Epistulae et carmina*. in MGH AA VIII, S. 1–264, hier S. 180): *vix matre carens ut constitit infans, mox praebet dorsum sonipes*. Für die Mongolen finden sich entsprechende Passagen bei P’eng Taya im Hei-Ta shih-lüeh (wie Anm. 38), cap. 36, S. 165; bei Johannes von Piano Carpine (wie Anm. 42) IV, 10 und VI, 2f., S. 94 und 101 bzw. 149 und 183; Juvaini (wie Anm. 39), I, S. 29–34 sowie in den Fragmenten des David von Ashby von ca. 1270: C. Brunel,

jene, die diesem Umstand Rechnung trugen, waren nicht davor gefeit, damit lediglich ihr vom Stereotyp des krieglüsternen Reiterbogners geprägtes Bild abzurunden. Angeborene und durch entsprechende Erziehung geförderte Wildheit der nicht zuletzt aufgrund ihrer nomadischen Lebensweise *a priori* suspekten Völker war in dieser Hinsicht das beliebteste und am schnellsten zur Hand befindliche Erklärungsmodell – und blieb es oft auch, ungeachtet längeren und näheren Hinsehens.⁵⁷ Vornehmlich aus diesem Grund schienen die Nomadenkrieger aus ihren unwirtlichen Gegenden hervor- und über die zivilisierte Welt hereinzubrechen. Dabei stand für zahlreiche Berichterstatter auch außer Zweifel, welche Mission ihrem Auftauchen und ihrem Treiben zugrunde lag: Die Vernichtung blühender Kulturen, die Verwandlung fruchtbarer Länder in kahle Weiten – oder wie der arabische Arzt und Naturforscher Ibn al-Labbād (†1231) beim Auftauchen der Mongolen in Chorasān schlussfolgerte: „Sie töten ausnahmslos und unbarmherzig. Es ist, als ob ihr Zweck die Austilgung der Menschengattung wäre ... Es erhellt hieraus, dass sie nicht so sehr nach Besitz und Vermögen streben, sondern nach Zerstörung der Welt, damit sie zur Wüste werde“.⁵⁸

Bewaffnung und hinterlistige Kriegsführung waren nach Maßgabe der meisten Verfasser ein ganz wesentliches Charakteristikum der zerstörerischen und kulturfeindlichen Horden steppennomadischer Provenienz. Welch konstitutive Bedeutung diesen Faktoren bei der Formung des Topos vom bogenbewehrten, ausschließlich für den Krieg geborenen Barbaren auf dem Pferderücken zukam, sollte auf den vorangegangenen Seiten gezeigt werden. Abschließend sei nur noch darauf verwiesen, dass sich aus diesem zentralen Vorurteil bei Bedarf – etwa um das Bild eines reiternomadischen Kontrahenten in möglichst noch dunklere Farben zu tauchen – darüber hinausgehend zahlreiche weitere Topoi ableiten ließen. Die Bandbreite dieser Bildmotive und Assoziationsketten erstreckt sich dabei vom heimatlosen unsteten Wanderleben in transportablen Behausungen über das völlige Fehlen von Kulturleistungen bis hin zum tiergleichen kannibalischen Wilden als Vorbote der Apokalypse.⁵⁹

„David d’Ashby auteur méconnu des *Faites des Tartares*,“ *Romania* 79 (1958), S. 39–46, hier 42f.

⁵⁷ Vgl. dazu unter anderem auch noch die chinesischen Beispiele bei Müller, „Barbaren“ (wie Anm. 38), S. 36.

⁵⁸ Somogyi, Ein arabischer Bericht (wie Anm. 40), S. 115.

⁵⁹ Vgl. dazu weiterführend Gießauf, Bilder (wie Anm. 10).

Milites Christi *in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: a historiographical overview*

ZSOLT HUNYADI



The overall objective of the following survey is to outline the achievements of East-Central European scholarship after the Second World War, with special regard to the medieval kingdom of Hungary.¹

Presenting and evaluating the post-war historiography of the military-religious orders in Hungary, one cannot, and certainly, should not skip the serious hiatus in the literature of church history in the "region." The "region", principally, is meant to be Hungary, but as the topic concerns the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the survey should also include, to a certain extent, present-day Croatia, Slovenia, Romania and Slovakia. It is not my objective to appraise the historiography of these Eastern European countries, but rather my intention is to display the major trends. Accordingly, emphasis should be given to the fact that the post-war Communist regimes, in effect from 1949, undermined medieval studies in general, and church history in particular. All pre-war projects were split by the early '50s and this process also effected the edition of primary (Latin) written sources as well. There was no way to obtain an academic degree by compiling high-quality source editions, and this fact hindered both directly and indirectly new research projects in any field of medieval studies. This mostly affected the edition of medieval charters. The exception that proves the rule, was the attempt by Elemér Mályusz to publish the charter-calendars of the Sigismund Era (1387–1437) from 1951 but which remains unfinished.² The first comprehensive enter-

¹ An earlier version of the present paper was delivered at the conference entitled *Medio siglo de estudios sobre las Cruzadas y las Órdenes militares, 1951–2001* held by the Universidad de Zaragoza (Facultad de Huesca) in Teruel.

² E. Mályusz, I. Borsa, eds. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár, 1387–1421*. [Cartulary of the Sigismund era], 7 vols. Budapest 1951–2001. (Vol. 7 (1422), and Vol. 8 (1423) are forthcoming).

prise is the compilation of the documents of the Angevin period (1301–1387) from 1990 onwards.³

It was the works of Ágoston Boltizsár,⁴ János Strázsay,⁵ Antal Karcsú,⁶ Ivan Kukuljević,⁷ Frigyes Pesty,⁸ Ferenc Patek,⁹ and Ede Reiszig¹⁰ that first surveyed and summarised the history of the military orders in the region with scholarly rigor. Their research was facilitated by the simultaneous formation of the medieval collection of the National Archives of Hungary, and by the more and more extensive source editions that began in the first third of the nineteenth century.¹¹ The common feature of these works – i.e. of pre-war titles – is, on the one hand, that they reflected upon international literature but, on the other hand, most of them are full of conceptual problems and misunderstandings. In contrast to the Western European situation, Hungarian – and many Central European – (Latin) written sources very often use the term *crucifer* instead of the appropriate *miles Templi*, *frater hospitalis*, and so on. It led to confusion – many scholars treated the houses and the landed properties of other orders, for instance the Order of St. Anthony or that of the Holy Spirit as belonging to the Hospital or the Temple, and vice versa. Moreover, there was no attempt to analyse the nuclei of these orders through their administrative units, that is through the commanderies or preceptories. Finally, prior to World War II “national history-writing” shifted the balance towards the autonomy of these orders, and thus almost disregarded their centralised nature and/or international characteristics.

After World War II, a radical decline in the studies of the military orders set in. Certainly, the missing research could not correct the many mistakes of earlier scholars. Instead, the very few works bequeathed several problems from the outdated studies. It was the general situation until the late 1960s when Karl-Georg Boroviczeny, a German haematologist of Hungarian origin (not accidentally,

³ Anjou-kori oklevéltár. *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Praeside J. Kristó, Vols. 1–12, 17, 23–24, Budapest–Szeged 1990–2002.

⁴ Á. Boltizsár, “A keresztes lovagok regestái hazánkban az Árpád-korszak alatt,” [The calendars of the charters of the Knights of St. John in Hungary during the Árpád Age], *Magyar Sion* (1863), 58–62, 209–216, 294–298, 373–377, 453–457.

⁵ J. Strázsay, “A Kereszt-Vitézek Magyarországon,” [Cruferi in Hungary] *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 11 (1823), 64–98.

⁶ A. Karcsú, *Az egyházi és szerzetesi lovagrendek történelme* [A history of the military-religious orders], Pest 1867.

⁷ I. Kukuljević, “Priorat vranski sa vitezi templari hospitalci sv. Ivana u Hrvatskoj,” [The Priory of Vrana of the Templars and the Hospitallers in Croatia] *Rad JAZU*, 81–82 (1886).

⁸ F. Pesty, *A templáriusok Magyarországon* [The Templars in Hungary] Budapest 1861.

⁹ F. Patek, *A magyarországi templárius rendtartomány felbomlása*. [The dissolution of the Templar Province of Hungary] Budapest 1912.

¹⁰ E. Reiszig, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János lovagrend Magyarországon*. [The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary], 2 vols. Budapest 1925–1928.

¹¹ For a detailed description, see Zsolt Hunyadi, “Research Resources for Medievalists in Hungary,” in *Issues and Resources for the Study of Medieval Central Europe*. eds. J. M. Bak, P. Banyó, Budapest–Cambridge (Mass.) 2001, 111–139.

a modern Maltese "knight"), studied the history of the military orders in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, compiled an annotated bibliography and wrote a study that was presented in Hungary in 1970 but published only in 1990.¹² Boroviczény's work proved to be very important. First of all, he reinforced the demand for new research projects concerning the military-religious orders. Moreover, his survey aimed at collecting all the primary written sources published up to the end of the 1960s. What is more, by close reading the primary sources and by the clarification of the notions and denominations applied in these charters, Boroviczény discovered or, in fact, separated a hitherto unknown religious institution, the Order of Hospitaller Canons Regular of St. Stephen, founded by the Hungarian King Géza II around the mid-twelfth century.¹³ The members of this order were also called *cruciferi* in contemporary sources, – they used this expression even in the inscriptions of their own charters – but they had nothing in common either with the Crusaders or with the Hospital of St. John. The ideas of Boroviczény, however, were neglected and disregarded for almost two decades – basically for two reasons. First, he lived in Germany which made it difficult to keep "daily contacts" with mainstream Hungarian scholars. But the fact that he was not a professional historian proved the most problematic issue. Most Hungarian historians refused his ideas merely because he was an enthusiastic amateur. The reception of his suggestions has changed since 1990.

Undoubtedly, the most neglected topic was the history of the Templars in the region. This situation, however, is not self-evident. Their presence was shorter than that of the Hospitallers but, on the other hand, it was much longer than the one and a half-decade presence of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania (Barcaság/Burzenland). The first post-war study of the Templars that meets modern scholarly standards was published in the journal of the Zadar division of the Yugoslav (present-day Croatian) Academy of Sciences which dedicated a whole volume in 1971 to Vrana, the medieval headquarters of the Templars and Hospitallers on the Dalmatian coast.¹⁴ In addition to these minor studies from the 1980s, the Croatian Lelja Dobronić,¹⁵ published two monographs and several articles on

¹² K.-G. Boroviczény, *Kommentierte Bibliographie der Kreuzherren- und Hospitalorden, sowie deren Krankenhaus- und Bädergründungen in Ungarn in der Zeit der Arpaden (X. bis XIII. Jahrhundert)* (manuscript) Freiburg 1970.

¹³ K.-Gy. Boroviczény, "Cruciferi Sancti Regis Stephani. Tanulmány a stefaniták, egy középkori magyar ispotályos rend történetéről," [The Knights of St. Stephen: Study on a medieval Hungarian Hospitaller Order] *Orvostörténeti Közlemények. Communicationes de Historiae Artis Medicinae*, 133–140 (1991–92), 7–48.

¹⁴ L. Kos, "Prior vranski i njegove funkcije u našoj pravnoj povijesti," [The prior of Vrana and his function in the Croatian legal practice] *Radovi Istraživačkog centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 18 (1971), 227–237; E. Peričić, "Vranski priori Ivan od Paližne i Petar Berislavic," [John of Palisna and Peter Berislo, Hospitaller Priors of Vrana] *ibid.*, 239–321; J. Kolanović, "Vrana i Templari," [Vrana and the Templars] *ibid.*, 207–226.

¹⁵ L. Dobronić, "Posjedi srednjovekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba," [The estates of the medieval military orders in the vicinity of Zagreb] in *Gunjačina Zbornika*, Zagreb

the military-religious orders in present-day Croatia. She might have corrected the errors and imperfections of the nineteenth-century authors (Ivan Kukuljević, Frigyes Pesty, and Ferenc Patek), but she almost completely ignored Hungarian sources, that is the written sources preserved or published in Hungary. Also, she applied and combined unverifiable archeological ideas, thus further confusing the picture of the Hungarian-Slavonian province of the Templars.

More recently, Miha Kosi, a young Slovenian scholar published comprehensive studies (in 1994 and 1995)¹⁶ on the history of the Templars in present-day Slovenia summing up the literature published until that time. Unfortunately, Hungarian scholarship still lack a scholarly monograph on the topic. The main reason for this situation is that the majority of medieval Templar sites are to be found outside the borders of present-day Hungary. On the initiative of Karl-Georg Boroviczény, a research group was established at the University of Szeged at the beginning of the 1990s for studying church history with special regard to military-religious orders.¹⁷ As a member of this research group, Balázs Stossek took up the history of the Hungarian-Slavonian province of the Templars. Stossek's works aim at providing a thorough investigation of the primary sources and the secondary literature in a doctoral dissertation. Moreover, with the help of foreign studies – e.g. that of Karl Borchardt¹⁸ – he is trying to place this province of the Order in the broader (Central-) European framework.¹⁹

Parallel to the academic works, translations of popular works on the Templars have been published in the region. Needless to say, these popular works, often

1980; *eadem*, "The Military Orders in Croatia," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Goss, Kalamazoo 1986, 431–438; *eadem*, "Viteški redovi: Templari i Ivanovci u Hrvatskoj," *Analecta Croatica Christiana*, 18 (1984); *eadem*, *Posjedi i Sjedišta Templara, Ivanovaca i Sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*, [Estates and Residences of Templars, Hospitallers and Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Croatia] Zagreb 1984; *eadem*, *Viteški redovi. Templari i Ivanovci u Hrvatskoj*, [Knights Orders. Templars and Hospitallers in Croatia] Zagreb 1984, reprint: Zagreb 2002.

¹⁶ M. Kosi, "Templarji na Slovenskem," [Knights Templar in Slovenia], *Zgodovinski časopis* 48 (1994), 149–186; *idem*, *Templarji na Slovenskem* [Knights Templar in Slovenia], *Zbirka Zgodovinskega časopisa* 13, Ljubljana 1995.

¹⁷ CAPITULUM Research Group for Medieval Church History, University of Szeged, Hungary, <http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul>.

¹⁸ K. Borchardt, "Military Orders in East Central Europe: The First Hundred Years," in *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 14, ed. M. Balard, Paris 1996, 247–254; *idem*, "The Templars in Central Europe," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Zs. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, (henceforth: *Expanding the Frontiers*) 233–244.

¹⁹ B. Stossek, "Maisons and Possessions des Templiers en Hongrie," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 245–251; *idem*, "A templomosok Magyarországon," [The Templars in Hungary] in *A magyar kereszties háború (Szentföld, keresztiesek, lovagrendek)*, ed. J. Laszlovszky, J. Majorossy, J. Zsengellér, Budapest 2004, forthcoming.

full of delirious ideas, add nothing to scholarly advancement.²⁰ Among these are the recent monographs of Paul Piers Read on the Templars,²¹ even though scholars would have preferred other works, for instance, that of Alain Demurger and/or Helen Nicholson. Fortunately research on the Hospitallers provides a rosier picture. There seems to be a newfound interest among members of the modern Maltese Orders to pursue the history of the order. Following Ede Reiszg's scholarly achievements of the 1920s,²² several works have been published since 1959 by Miklós István Tóth,²³ Karl-Georg Boroviczény,²⁴ Martin von Walterskirchen,²⁵ Antal Radvánszky²⁶ and Szabolcs de Vajay.²⁷ All these works were published in Western European countries, thus they did not have a commensurate impact in Central Europe.²⁸ The very few exceptions are the popular works by Imre Marjai published in 1990, and the joint publication of László Legeza and József Török in 1999.²⁹ These studies – published in Hungarian or German – were usually summaries of former secondary works, and they yield no new insights.

Simultaneously with the studies of the Croatian Lelja Dobronić, Hungarian lay scholarship also “discovered” the importance of the topic at the end of the

²⁰ L. Charpentier, *Les Mystères Templiers*. Paris 1967; Hungarian tr. *A templomos lovagok titkai*. tr. I. Lőrinszky, Budapest 1992; S. Howarth, *The Knights Templar*. London 1982; Hungarian tr. *A templomosok titka*. [The Secret of the Templars] Budapest, 1986; V. Loos, *A templomos lovagrend története*. [History of the Templars]. Pécs n.d. [2000].

²¹ P. Piers Read, *The Templars*. London 1999; Hungarian tr. *A templomosok*. tr. by J. Majorossy, Budapest n.d. [2001].

²² E. Reiszg, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János lovagrend Magyarországon*. [The Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary] 2 vols. Budapest: Nemesi Évkönyv, 1925–1928. Its ‘summary’ was published in H. Thierry, “L’Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem en Hongrie,” *Rivista Mensile Illustrata: Sovrano Ordine Militare di Malta* 2 (1938/1, April): 13–19; 2 (1938/2 May): 23–30.

²³ I. M. Tóth, *Die Ungarische Genossenschaft des Ritterlichen Ordens Sankt Johannis von Spital zu Jerusalem*. München 1959.

²⁴ K.-G. Boroviczény, “Die Hospitaller und Ungarn,” *Johanniter* (1972/3) [1971].

²⁵ M. von Walterskirchen, “Béla III. schenkt den Johannitern Land bei Akkon: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des internationale Zahlungsverkehrs im 12. Jahrhundert,” *Annales de l’Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 33 (1975), 102–109.

²⁶ A. Radvánszky, “Ein Ritterwall Gegen die Türken Geschichte des Johanniterordens in Ungarn,” *Johanniter* (1986/2); *idem*, *A Szent János lovagrend története Magyarországon*. [A History of the Hospitallers in Hungary] Paris 1986.

²⁷ Sz. de Vajay, *A johannita lovagrend tagjai*. [The members of the Hospital] Munich 1987.

²⁸ See also A. Ruttkay, “Die Ritter- und Spitalsorden in der Slowakei. Archäologie und Geschichte,” in J. Pavúk, ed. *Actes du XII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*. Vol. 4. Bratislava 1993, 141–161; *idem*, “Military and Religious Orders Offering Medical Care (Archaeological and Written Sources in Slovakia),” in L. Kajzer, and H. Paner, eds. *Castrum Bene: Castle and Church*. Vol. 5. Gdańsk 1996, 173–192.

²⁹ I. Marjai, *A kereszt és a kard lovagjai (A máltai lovagrend)*, [The Knights of the Cross and the Sword. (The Knights of Malta)] Budapest 1990; J. Török, and L. Legeza, *Máltaiak. Szerzetesrendek a Kárpát-medencében*. [The Maltese Order. Religious Orders in the Carpathian Basin] Budapest 1999.

1970s. The work of László Hársing and Károly Kozák³⁰ aimed at providing a modern summary for a wider audience, though Kozák's work of 1982 explicitly targeted the scholarly world, and it was published in the Hungarian *Acta Archaeologica* in French.³¹ As an archeologist, he combined history and art history without any sort of source criticism in his "catalogue." Although he mentioned the Canons Regular of St. Stephen quoting Boroviczény's idea, he completely confused the data referring to the different orders.

When evaluating the work of Lelja Dobronić, one can say, she treated Hospitallers like Templars. However, it is worth noting that she was the first scholar from the region who consulted the Central Archives of the Hospital (Malta) from the perspective of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory of the Order. Slovenian scholars also studied the history of the Hospitallers in their region during the last two decades (Joze Mlinarič and Miha Kosi),³² but they mostly relied upon Dobronić's works.

As a member of the afore-mentioned research group at the University of Szeged I started investigating the history of the Hospitallers in the medieval kingdom of Hungary in 1994. My objective has been to produce a comprehensive work on the history of the Order in East-Central Europe based on all the available primary sources with reference to the Order, and to provide a fundamental criticism of the former studies. I published my results thus far in minor articles³³

³⁰ L. Hársing, K. Kozák, "A johanniták a középkori Magyarországon," [Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary] *Világosság* 20 (1979), 692–699.

³¹ K. Kozák, "Constructions dans la Hongrie des XII–XV^e siècles des ordres de chevalerie et d'Hospitaliers et leur influence," *Acta Archaeologica* 34 (1982), 71–130.

³² J. Mlinarič, "Malteška komenda na Polzeli," [Hospitaller Commandery at Polzela/Heiligenstein] *Kronika* 28 (1980), 161–171; *idem*, "Melje in njegova malteška komenda od 12. stoletja do leta 1803," [Melje and its Hospitaller Commandery from the twelfth century to 1803] *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* Nova vrsta 16 (1980) 217–238; *idem*, "Malteški red na Slovenskem," [The Order of the Hospital in Slovenia] in *Glavarjev simpozij v Rimu*, Celje 1999, 17–25; M. Kosi, "The Age of the Crusades in the South-East of the Empire (Between the Alps and the Adriatic)," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 123–166.

³³ S. Homonnai, and Zs. Hunyadi, "Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolomitani. A johannita lovagrend regulája." [The Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem] in L. Koszta, ed., *Capitulum I. Fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből*. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1998, 171–183.; Zs. Hunyadi, "The Knights of St John and the Hungarian Private Legal Literacy up to the Mid-Fourteenth Century," in ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. B. Nagy, M. Sebők, Budapest 1999, 507–519; *idem*, "The Hungarian Nobility and the Knights of St John," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, Rome 2000, 607–618; *idem*, "The Identification of a Forgery: Regularities and Irregularities in the Formulae of the Charters Issued by the Székesfehérvár Convent of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (1243–1353)," in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers, Woodbridge 2000, 137–149; *idem*, "Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Houses, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to 1400," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 253–268; *idem*, "The Locus Credibilis in Hungarian Hospitaller Commanderies" in *La Commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. A. Luttrell, L. Pressouyre, Paris 2002, 285–296; *idem*, "Cruciferi domus

– mostly in English – and I am about to submit my doctoral thesis, on the topic soon. Certainly, my work is facilitated by the fact that Karl Borchardt and Anthony Luttrell have been working on the history of the Province of *Alamania* – and other similar topics – for years.³⁴

The most fruitful topic in the region is the history of the Teutonic Order in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, namely in Transylvania (1211–1225 and also for a short while during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437).³⁵ Although this topic has often been researched by Hungarian, German and Romanian scholars, the peak of studies can be dated from 1970 onwards. In the course of a decade some ten studies were published by Gábor Adriányi,³⁶ Adolf Armbruster,³⁷ Horst Glassl,³⁸ Harald Zimmermann,³⁹ and others. Their works were explicitly dedi-

hospitalis per Hungariam et Sclavoniam... A johanniták Magyarországon a 14. század végéig" [Hospitallers in Hungary up to the end of the fourteenth century] *Aetas* 17 (2002/4), 52–76; *idem*, "Adalékok a johannita magyar-szlavón (vránai) perjelségre kirótt rendi adók kérdéséhez," [Contributions to the question of the taxes levied on the Hungarian-Slavonian Hospitaller Priory] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 116 (2002): 31–49; *idem*, "Hospitaller Officials of Foreign Origin in the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory: thirteenth–fourteenth century" in *International Mobility in the Military Orders (twelfth–fifteenth centuries)*, ed. H. J. Nicholson, and J. Burgtorf, Cardiff 2004, forthcoming.

³⁴ A. Luttrell, "The Hospitaller Province of *Alamania* to 1428," in *Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica* VIII, Torun 1995, 21–41; *idem*, "The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 269–282. There are also important recent works: G. Érszegi, "Fejér megyére vonatkozó oklevelek a székesfehérvári keresztes konvent magán levéltárában, 1193–1542," [Charters concerned to Fejér County from the private archive of the convent of the Knights of St. John in Székesfehérvár] *Fejér megyei Történeti Évkönyv* 5 (1971), 177–264; A. Borosy, "Egyház és honvédelem az Árpád-korban. Hadakozó egyháznagyok, szerzetes lovagrendek," [Church and the defence of the kingdom in the Árpád-age. Higher clergy and the military orders as fighters] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 100 (1987): 199–233.; M. Horler, "A johanniták és a korai magyar vártípus," [The Hospitallers and the early Hungarian castle-type] *Castrum Bene* (1989), 135–152; P. Engel, "14. századi magyar vonatkozású iratok a johannita lovagrend máltai levéltárából," [Fourteenth-century documents from the Archives of the Order of St. John in Malta with reference to the History of Hungary] *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997), 111–118; *idem*, "The Estates of the Hospitallers in Hungary at the End of the Middle Ages," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 291–302. N. Budak, "John of Palisna, the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana," *ibid*, 283–290.

³⁵ Cf. L. Pósán, "Sigismund und der Deutsche Orden," in *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. T. Schmidt, P. Gunst, Debrecen 2000, 73–83.

³⁶ G. Adriányi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971).

³⁷ A. Armbruster, "Nachspiel zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens Burzenland," *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 18:2 (1979), 277–287.

³⁸ H. Glassl, "Der deutsche Orden im Burzenland und in Kumanien (1211–1225)," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971), 23–49.

³⁹ H. Zimmermann, "Kreuzritter in Siebenbürgen," in *Kirche im Gespräch*, Hg. G. Traar, Wien 1976, 3–15; *idem*, "Ungarische Politik und Türkenabwehr zur Zeit Sigismund des Luxemburgers," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 21 (1978), 267–298; *idem*, "Der

cated to the presence of the Teutonic knights in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Certainly, there are many other works touching upon the problem from different angles, but the mere list of them would exceed the frames of this brief summary. After a decade in a "standby state", from the beginning of the 1990s, several remarkable articles and chapters of monographs have appeared by, for instance, Gábor Frank,⁴⁰ László Pósan,⁴¹ Adrian Rusu,⁴² Horst Klusch,⁴³ and others.⁴⁴ Their works share some important characteristics. The professional one is that most of the primary sources of the topic were edited and published decades or – in some cases – almost a century ago. Moreover, as it very often happens, there are characteristics of ideological and political character. By now, these supra-professional "elements" became, more or less, visible but scholars still must be aware of these above described historiographical features. The most recent studies are rather intensive in nature as they claim for the reevaluation of prevailing ideas instead of incorporating new sources.

By summing up, it is not surprising that much has changed since the decline of the communist regimes. From the very beginning of the 1990s, church history regained its former luster making it possible to launch new projects in the field. Both established and young scholars initiated or began new studies of the history of the military-religious orders as well as that of the Crusades. Numerous articles, monographs and theses indicate the regained importance of the topic. Moreover, the recent publications meet modern scholarly standards and they have mostly been published in (major) foreign languages. Until we lack modern and reliable scholarly works concerning the above surveyed region, it is not possible to produce appropriate comparative works for the West either. Hopefully, the majority of the above listed recent works provide a revised basis or starting point for "exploring" a part of Europe which once was regarded to be a part of Latin Christendom.

deutsche Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen 26, Sigmaringen 1980, 261–298; *idem*, "Der deutsche Ritterorden zwischen Siebenbürgen und Gundelsheim am Neckar," in *Wege landeskundlicher Forschung. 25 Jahre Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde 1962–1987*, ed. K. Gündisch, Köln–Wien 1988. See also the edition of his works on this topic in: *idem*, *Siebenbürgen und seine Hospites Theutonici*. Köln–Weimar–Wien 1996.

⁴⁰ G. Frank, "Újabb nézetek a Német Lovagrend barcasági történetéről," [New considerations upon the History of the Teutonic Order in Barcaság] in *Történeti tanulmányok Dél-Pannóniából*, ed. M. Fülöp, J. Vonyó, Pécs 1994, 38–48.

⁴¹ L. Pósan, *A Német Lovagrend története a 13. században*. [The Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century] Debrecen 1996, 21–43.

⁴² A. A. Rusu, "Die Frage der vom Deutschen Orden im Südosten Siebenbürgens errichteten Burgen," *Castrum Bene* 5 (1996), 165–172.

⁴³ H. Klusch, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ritterordens innerhalb und ausserhalb des Karpatenbogens," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 39 (1996), 137–150.

⁴⁴ For instance, A. Pippidi, "Aperçu sur les Rapports des Roumains avec les Ordres de Chevalerie," in *Miscellanea in honorem Radu Manolescu*, Bucharest 1996, 107–115; See also J. Laszlovszky, Z. Soós, "Historical Monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 317–336.

The Itinerary of King Charles I in 1341

FERENC SEBŐK



The late Pál Engel, a historian of the Angevin era, attempted to reconstruct the struggles of King Charles I against the oligarchs, to unravel the political history of the period between 1310–1322 in a study published in *Századok* in 1988¹ which includes the king's itinerary. Engel compared the study to a puzzle, the difference being that in this "game" one cannot ever complete the whole picture, because one simply does not possess all the pieces of the original picture. On the other hand the historian never knows beforehand how his picture will look like in the end. His task was made even more difficult by the fact that at the time of writing his study there was no comprehensive source publication at his disposal, which contained *all* the data concerning the age. Therefore the author had to rely on the sources published in the volumes of "Anjou-kori okmánytár",² charters published in different family histories and thematic source publications and his own archival research, which could not be regarded as comprehensive. At any rate, Engel himself voiced his opinion, saying that his view "will possibly be modified, completed, or refuted by that lucky researcher, who can once rely on the *completed* source material contained in the volumes of the future *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*."³

The source publication⁴ Engel lacked contains by now more than a dozen volumes courtesy of researchers from Szeged, who have dedicated more than a decade of research to this project, and work has progressed on further volumes, too,

¹ P. Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310–1323)." [The Re-unification of the Realm. The Struggles of Charles I against the Oligarchs (1310–1323)] *Századok* 122 (1988), 89–146. Recently re-published in P. Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok*. [Honor, castrum, comitatus]. Selected Studies. ed. E. Csukovits, Budapest 2003, 320–408.

² *Anjou-kori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* (henceforth: AO), ed. Imre Nagy, Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, 7 vols., Budapest, 1878–1920.

³ Engel, *Az ország újraegyesítése*, 92.

⁴ *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* [Charters of the Angevin Period] I–XII, XVII, XXIII, XXIV. eds. Gy Kristó et al., Szeged 1990–2002; The series has been reviewed by Ildikó Tóth, "The Charters of the Angevin Period," *Chronica* 1 (2001), 180–184.

which are almost ready for publication. On the basis of the published volumes it is nearly possible to get acquainted with the history of King Charles I having *all* the sources at one's disposal. The material relating to the period between 1310–1323 is completed, so making use of this corpus of evidence it was Gyula Kristó, who undertook the reconstruction of the political history of the period, when Charles I overpowered the oligarchs.⁵ Kristó's study modifies the results of Engel published in 1988 at some points, which can partly be thanked to the extension of the source basis, and partly to that methodological consideration, that one must accept the fact, that due to the sporadic feature of sources some contradictions simply *cannot* be solved. Some pieces of the puzzle will not fit the picture, even if *all* the available sources are at one's disposal. This is meant by Kristó, when he says Engel "paid special – perhaps even too much – attention not to leave any pieces of evidence unaccounted for, to fit all the pieces into the picture."⁶

On the forthcoming pages I will attempt to focus on another period of the reign of Charles I. While a considerable part of Charles' reign was dedicated to crushing the oligarchs,⁷ relatively little is known about the last few years of the king's reign, but in this respect a slight shift can be observed,⁸ which can be thanked to the publication of sources relating to 1339 and 1340 in the volumes XXIII and XXIV of *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*.⁹ That the political history of the year 1341 (the sources of which will be included in the forthcoming volume XXV of *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*) is hardly known, can best be illustrated by the fact, that *Magyarország történeti kronológiája* (Historical Chronology of Hungary)¹⁰ relating the events of 1341 (p. 206) qualifies only three events worth mentioning. A recent chronology of Hungarian history,¹¹ which summarises the events from 830 till 2000, did not consider a single event from 1341 noteworthy. Bearing these circumstances in mind I decided to attempt to reconstruct the itinerary of King Charles I in 1341 on the basis of the evidence contained in *all* the charters extant from the given year. My idea can also be supported by the fact, that the itineraries

⁵ Gy. Kristó, "I. Károly király harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)" [The Struggles of King Charles I against the Oligarchs (1310–1323)] *Századok* 137 (2003), 297–347.

⁶ Kristó, *I. Károly király harcai*, 298.

⁷ Apart from the above-mentioned studies, without the contention of fullness, see P. Engel, Gy. Kristó, A. Kubinyi, *Magyarország története 1301–1526* [The History of Hungary 1301–1526], Budapest 1998, 27–41; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, London–New York 2001, 130–134.

⁸ F. Piti, "Hungary and Dalmatia in 1340," *Chronica* 2 (2002), 3–10.

⁹ See Note 4.

¹⁰ *Magyarország történeti kronológiája I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig* [Historical Chronology of Hungary I. From the Beginnings till 1526], ed. K. Benda, Budapest 1981.

¹¹ *A magyar történelem kronológiája* [The Chronology of Hungarian History], ed. Gy. Szvák, n.d. 2001.

put together by earlier historians are outdated, and contain many misinterpretations.¹²

During 1340 Charles I was preparing to withstand a possible Mongol invasion, which in the end failed to materialise.¹³ The dissolution of the royal army (*residentia exercitus regii*) was proclaimed to 1 January 1341.¹⁴ The king had already stayed in Visegrád, at the royal residence on 19 December 1340.¹⁵ Between 1323 and 1406 Visegrád can be regarded as the capital of the kingdom. The king only left it in case of war, diplomatic negotiation, hunt or other important activity.¹⁶ As we will see below there was no exception to this rule in 1341 either.

Charles I spent the first few months of 1341 in Visegrád, until the middle of April.¹⁷ Then at an unspecified time he left Visegrád for Várad (now Oradea, Romania). On the way there he issued a charter in Heves on 28 April.¹⁸ Károly Ráth and Béla Sebestyén, who dealt with royal itineraries formerly, dated this document to 22 September 1341,¹⁹ because both of them scrutinised the published charter in the source collection of Georgius Fejér.²⁰ The date in the published form of the document reads "*sabbato proximo post festum beati Mathei Euangelistae*",

¹² K. Ráth, *Magyar királyok hadjáratai, utazásai és tartózkodási helyei* [Campaigns, Travels and Itineraries of Hungarian Kings], Győr 1861; B. Sebestyén, *A magyar királyok tartózkodási helyei* [The Itinerary of Hungarian Kings], Budapest 1938.

¹³ Piti, *Hungary and Dalmatia*, 10.

¹⁴ *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*, eds. Imre Nagy et al. 12 vols., Pest-Budapest, 1871–1931, (henceforth: Zichy) 1: 596 (Dl.76628), Zichy 1: 597 (Dl.76625). Henceforth I will refer to published documents by giving the bibliographical data of the publication and the archival number, to unpublished documents preserved in the *Magyar Országos Levéltár* [National Archives of Hungary] by giving Dl.abbreviation and the number; to copies of unpublished documents preserved at the same place in the photo archive by giving Df.abbreviation and the number.

¹⁵ *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* XXIV, no. 737 (Dl.77454), no. 738 (Dl.90912), no. 739 (Dl.99564).

¹⁶ Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 147.

¹⁷ He issued the following documents there: 3 January: AO 4: 66–67 (Dl.3347); 4 January: Dl.4581; 12 January: Dl.60972; 13 January: Dl.43514; 15 January: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, 4 vols., Hermannstadt–Köln–Wien–Bukarest 1892–1981, (henceforth: ZW), 1: 510 (Dl.62702), ZW 1: 511 (Dl.62699 and Dl.62700), ZW 1: 512 (Dl.62 698); 22 January: Dl.48556; 25 January: G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 11 vols., Budae 1829–1844 (henceforth: Fejér), 8/4: 481 (Dl.3086), Dl.87118; 1 February: Df.233624; 7 February: Dl.3356; 10 February: Dl.43172; 16 February: Df.278509; 23 February: F. Knauz, L. Dedek Crescens, *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, 3 vols., Strigonii 1874–1924, (henceforth: MES), 3: 384 (Df.237026 and Df.237027); 18 March: Fejér 8/7, 337–339 (Dl.24464 = Dl.24465 = Dl.67544), Dl.71679, Df.266379, Dl.71773, Dl.98357; 20 March: Zichy 1: 605 (Dl.76631); 29 March: Dl.62484; 31 March: Dl.102952, Df.266606; 1 April: Fejér 8/4: 489–491 (Dl.3368); 13 April: Dl.3370, Dl.50354; 14 April: ZW 1: 515–516 (Dl.30013); 15 April: Fejér 8/4, 482–489 (Df.251806, Df.251814, Df.251825), Df.200188, Df.283215.

¹⁸ 28 April: Dl.64021.

¹⁹ Ráth, *Magyar királyok*, 57; Sebestyén, *A magyar királyok*, 38.

²⁰ Fejér 8/4: 519.

which indeed refers to 22 September. The original charter, however, reads "*sabbato proximo post festum Marci evangeliste*", which proves that neither Ráth, nor Sebestyén knew the original document. What makes it more interesting is that according to Sebestyén's work on 19 September King Charles I issued a charter in Damásd,²¹ on 22 September he issued another one (the distance between the two places can just be covered in three days), but on 23 September he was again in Damásd, which is impossible (that is, to get back to Damásd in *one* day), but no logical explanation could be given to the king's behaviour: why would he have travelled from his hunting resort to Heves only to return there next day at break-neck speed? It is interesting that Sebestyén did not notice this contradiction. Scrutiny of the original charter, however, clears the situation, as Heves is just on the way to Várad.

On 6 May the king stayed at Várad,²² in four days' time he was in a village called Karul.²³ Imre Nagy, the editor of *Anjou-kori Okmánytár* identified this village with Nagykároly (now Carei, Romania), but this is unlikely in light of the following: in two days' time the king dated a charter in another village called Wossyan in Zaránd county,²⁴ which can be identified with Varsand (now Varşand in Romania). Varsand in Zaránd county is south-western of Várad, while Nagykároly is north-eastern of it. If the king had left Várad for Nagykároly (that is, in a north-eastern direction), it is hardly imaginable, that he would have turned back and gone to Varsand via Várad again. It is much more likely, that Karul can be identified with a village in Békés county called Károly, which has disappeared by now, but the toponym has been preserved in a field name in Békés county, west of Szeghalom.²⁵

Still in this month the king returned to his residence in Visegrád. On 18 May he issued a charter here (the distance between Varsand and Visegrád can be covered in six days), and he did not leave it for the rest of the month.²⁶ He was also there at the beginning of June.²⁷ Then, a strange phenomenon occurred, to which I cannot provide an explanation so far: the king issued a charter in Győr on 21 June,²⁸ the chapter of Eger referred to this charter in a transcript, but contended, that it had been issued in Visegrád.²⁹ It is imaginable, that the chapter clerk was not careful enough, when he was transcribing the royal mandate, and he considered it as a routine, issued in Visegrád. From the viewpoint of the cause con-

²¹ See Note 34.

²² 6 May: ZW 1: 517 (Dl.28061 = Dl.37084).

²³ 10 May: AO 4: 91–92 (Dl.3379).

²⁴ 12 May: AO 4: 92–93 (Dl.3363).

²⁵ D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadis], 5 vols., Budapest 1890, 1: 612; Gy. Györffy: *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Árpáds], 3 vols. Budapest 1987, 1: 508–509.

²⁶ 18 May: Df.232779; 24 May: AO 4: 101–103 (Dl.3665).

²⁷ The charters issued there: 1 June: Dl.49425; 3 June: Fejér 8/4, 498–504 (Dl.34101).

²⁸ 21 June: Dl.62181.

²⁹ 21 June: Dl.62182.

tained in the charter, this mistake is a minor one, (although strict criticism might have qualified the document a forgery). Győr as the place of the issue of the charter seems to be correct, as the king was on his way to Pozsony (now Bratislava, Slovakia), where he allegedly had talks with Charles, margrave of Moravia.³⁰ Unfortunately, I could not get the publication, which contains the primary source relating to the negotiation, but the contention of Antal Pór is further strengthened by the fact, that Charles, margrave of Moravia was evidently in Prague on 7 June, then he reappeared in Prague only on 13 July, which gave him enough time to travel to Pozsony, hold negotiations there and travel back.³¹ King Charles I travelled back to Visegrád from Pozsony, he issued a charter at his residence on 29 June.³²

The king spent the whole summer in Visegrád.³³ From 5 September until 23 he went hunting and he stayed in Damásd (Hont county), which is quite close to the royal residence. One of his charters dated from here reads "*in Damas, in loco venacionis nostre*".³⁴ After he had finished hunting, he returned to Visegrád and stayed there until 18 October.³⁵ Then at an unspecified time he travelled to Pozsony again, where he had talks and concluded a treaty with the prince of Austria. Hungary and Austria had made peace back in 1338, but along the border hostilities did not ease fast. Mutual incursions and damaging each other's property became the order of the day, so now the two parties agreed to set up a six-member

³⁰ According to A. Pór, *Tót Lőrinc, a királyi tárnokok és zászlótartók mestere* [Lőrinc Tót, *Magister Tavernicorum et vexilliferorum*], *Századok* 25 (1891), 368: [Iosefus Chytil], *Codex [diplomaticus] Morav[iae]*, VII, 172.

³¹ J. Emler, *Regesta diplomataria nec non epistolaria Bohemiae at Moraviae*, Pars IV/II, annorum 1333–1346, Pragae 1892, 373, 382–383.

³² 29 June: Fejér 8/4, 492–493 (Dl.3393).

³³ His charters issued in this period: 2 July: Dl.40 860; 3 July: AO. IV, 111 (Dl.3395); 10 July: AO. IV, 112 (Dl.3397); 13 July: Dl.91 320; 14 July: Dl.3400; 18 July: Z. I, 626–627 (Dl.76 646), Dl.1116; 19 July: AO. IV, 121–122 (Dl.3402 = Dl.3403); 26 July: Dl.40864; 1 August: Dl.3407; 2 August: Dl.87 121; 8 August: Zichy 1: 627–628 (Dl.76647), Dl.3409, Dl.62182; 10 August: Dl.40865; 25 August: Dl.1401; 27 August: Dl.3403 = Dl.37084; 30 August: Df.247953; 31 August: *Hazai Oklevéltár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, 1234–1536, eds. I. Nagy, F. Deák, Gy. Nagy, Budapest 1879, 234 (Df.269952).

³⁴ His charters dated from here: 5 September: I. Nagy, D. Véghely, Gy. Nagy, eds. *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár* [The history of Zala County. Charters], Budapest 1886–1890, 1: 383–384 (Dl.3416); 6 September: MES 3: 394–395 (Df.236071); 11 September: Dl.69970; 18 September: *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, eds. I. Nagy et al., Győr–Budapest 1865–1891, 1: 185–186 (Df.278132); 19 September: Df.277292; 23 September: AO 4: 134–135 (Dl.50137).

³⁵ His charters from this period: 29 September: AO 2: 333 (Dl.2462), *A nagymihályi és sztárai gróf Sztáray család oklevéltára* [Documents of the Count Sztáray Family from Nagymihály and Sztára], ed. Gy. Nagy, Budapest 1887–1889, 1: 162–163 (Dl.85 282); 6 October: M. Kostrenčić, T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, Zagrabiae 1904–1981 (henceforth: Smičiklas), 10: 639–640 (Df.252346); 13 October: MES 3: 409–410 (Df.248653); 18 October: AO 4: 159–160 (Dl.57314), Dl.99994 = Dl.106789.

commission (three Hungarian and three Austrian lords) to investigate and remedy the complaints. The Hungarian members of the commission were Péter, bishop of Szerém, Tamás Szécsényi, voivode of Transylvania and Pál Nagymartoni, *judex curie*; Austrian members were Ludwig von Ötting, Ulrich von Pfannberg and Ulrich von Pergau. Substitute members: the Hungarian Miklós Gilétfi, *comes* of Turóc county, and the Austrian Konrad von Schaumburg. The commissions would meet in Pozsony and Hainburg, and what they achieved, their rulers would give their consent to.³⁶

On 25 November the king was back in Visegrád, and stayed there to the end of the first month of next year.³⁷ The following conclusions can be drawn: the state of the realm as compared with the earlier period under the rule of King Charles I was much more consolidated, no upheavals, rebellions broke out, which would have otherwise necessitated a greater activity on the part of the monarch. Unlike the previous year, no foreign invasion threatened the kingdom, and this is why there was no need to proclaim a general mobilisation of arm-bearers (*generalis exercitus*), which was common throughout the Angevin period.³⁸ The royal army of the former year had been dissolved on 1 January 1341. The ruler, as it was customary, mainly stayed at his seat. In 1341 he left it only four times. His first journey of unknown destiny took him to Bihar, Békés and Zaránd counties, and it lasted for 4–5 weeks. For the second time he travelled to Pozsony. This journey took about three weeks. His third journey was the shortest in distance, he went to the royal hunting ground in Damásd, which is only a few miles from Visegrád, where the king spent about three weeks. He visited Pozsony again, and the journey took about 4–5 weeks. Another factor in the king's relative passivity might have been his illness (he died on 16 July 1342).

The examination of the king's itinerary also casts light on the fact that historians dealing with 14th century Hungary are in a special situation as a result of the relative scarcity of sources. While historians doing research into medieval history of Western-European countries often find themselves face-to-face with an enormous amount of sources, which imposes its own difficulties. In contrast for Central European historians even the establishment of fundamental chronological, archontological, etc. facts (like the king's itinerary) remains challenging.

³⁶ The text of the treaty can be found in the following charters: 13 November: Fejér 8/4: 495–497 (Dl.6657 = Df.257982 = Df.258468). The king's other charters from Pozsony: 5 November: Dl.72526; 8 November: Dl.1682; 10 November: Fejér 8/4: 481–482 (Df.258591 = Df.262188 = Df.262266 = Df.286775).

³⁷ His charters from this period: 25 November: Df.269952; 29 November: Dl.87127; 30 November: Smičiklas 10: 646–647 (Df.252015 = Df.252027); 7 December: Dl.67668, Df.260927; 8 December: Dl.105572; 23 December: Dl.3433, Dl.3434, Dl.3435, Dl.3436. For his staying in Visegrád in January 1342, see e.g. 26 January: AO 4: 189–191 (Dl.3461).

³⁸ P. Engel, "Adatok az Anjou-kori magyar hadseregről," [Data on the Hungarian Army in the Angevin Period], *Annalecta Mediaevalia. Tanulmányok a középkorról*, ed. T. Neumann, n.p. 2001, 77.

Some remarks on the Central European part of the Expedition of Henry, Earl of Derby in 1392–1393

RICHÁRD SZÁNTÓ



Henry, earl of Derby went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He travelled from England to Prussia, then he visited Poland, Germany, Bohemia, Austria, Venice, Dalmatia, and sailed to the Holy Land. Passing the Middle East he sailed back to Venice and returned to England. This long-lasting journey started on the 16 of July 1392 and it finished on the 16 July 1393. The political aims and the diplomatic background of Henry's expedition were the preparation of a great crusade, which were realised in the campaign of Nicopolis in 1396.¹

Several sources give information on the expedition of the earl of Derby, but only two of them mention Hungary as a part of the journey. One of them is the narrative of John Capgrave² and the other is the *Derby's Accounts*.³ These sources include vague information about the fact that Henry entered Hungary or he travelled near the Hungarian boundary in territory of Bohemia and Austria.

John Capgrave mentioned Henry's travel toward Hungary, but the critical edition of accounts of Henry's journey did not include Hungarian stations, although the lodgings of Henry were recorded precisely every day. Moreover Capgrave mentioned that Henry met Sigismund, king of Hungary, but there is no direct data for this fact in the accounts. The aim of this study is to explain the dif-

¹ R. Szántó, "Angol-magyar kapcsolatok néhány vonatkozása az 1390-es évek közepén" [Some Connections of the English-Hungarian Relations in the Middle of the 1390s] in "Magyaroknak eleiről" Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendősk Makk Ferenc tiszteletére ["On the Ancestors of the Hungarians" Festive Studies to the Honour of Sixty years old Ferenc Makk] ed. F. Piti. Szeged 2000, 515–535.

² J. Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F. C. Hingeston. Rolls. Ser. London 1858.

³ L. Smith, ed., *Derby Accounts. Expeditions to Prussia and the Holly Land made by Henry Earl of Derby*, London 1894, repr. New York 1965.

ference between the two sources, and to locate that place where King Sigismund could have met Henry.

The meeting place of Henry and Sigismund can be defined by the comparison of Sigismund's itinerary and Henry's Central European stations.⁴ I sketch out the relationship between Henry and Sigismund in the first part of this study. The Central European stages of Henry's journey are enumerated in the second part. The third part of this study includes the comparison of the route of Henry and the itinerary of Sigismund, while in the fourth step I try to list the indirect pieces of evidence of the meeting of Henry and Sigismund.

I. Dynastic relations between the Luxembourgs and the Plantagenets

Edward, prince of Wales, the Black Prince, died in 1376. He was one of nine children of Edward III, a son of Black Prince became king of England under the name of Richard II. John of Gaunt, who was another son of Edward III, was father of Henry, earl of Derby, who was crowned as Henry IV (1399–1413). Richard II, who was a cousin of Henry, earl of Derby, married Anne of Bohemia coming from the House of Luxembourg, her brothers were Wenzel, king of Bohemia (1378–1416) and Sigismund, king of Hungary (1387–1437). Henry, earl of Derby visited the brothers of the wife of his cousin when he went on his pilgrimage and met Wenzel and Sigismund in 1392–1393.⁵

A chantry of some tenants in Derbyshire throws light on the connection of the two dynasties. Nicholas de Stafford, knight, James Foljambe, Robert Jewesone and others granted some lands to the church of Tideswell in Wormhill, in Tideswell and in Litton, so as to found a chantry in the church of Tideswell on 29 September 1392. According to the purpose of the founders, the chaplains of the church prayed for souls of King Edward III, of King Richard II, of Anne, queen of England (Anne of Bohemia) and of others.⁶ When the chantry was established, Henry and his retinue were on the journey.

⁴ P. Engel, "Az utazó király: Zsigmond itineráriuma," [The travelling king: The itinerary of Sigismund] in L. Beke, E. Marosi, T. Wehli, eds., *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, 1387–1437* [The Art in the reign of Sigismund 1387–1437], Budapest 1987, vol. 1, 71–92.

⁵ A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, London 1992, 406–409; Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lviii–lix.

⁶ I. H. Jeayes, ed., *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters*, London 1906, 2357.

Edward III = Philippa of Hainault
d 1377 d 1369

Edward = Joan of Kent
prince of Wales
(the Black Prince)
d 1376

Isabella
d 1379

Joan
d 1348

Lionel
duke of
Clarence
d 1368

John of Gaunt = (1) Blanche
d 1368

Edmund of
Langley

Mary

Margaret

Thomas of
Woodstock

Edward
d 1371

Richard II = (1) Anne of Bohemia
d 1399
(her brothers
Wenzel,
king of Bohemia,
Sigismund,
king of Hungary)

Philippa
d 1415

Elisabeth
d 1426

Henry IV
d 1413
(earl of Derby)

RICHARD SZANTO

II. The sources of Henry's journey in Central Europe

Among the surviving sources on Henry's pilgrimage, only John Capgrave referred to his journey to Hungary and his meeting the Hungarian king. Henry travelled from Prussia through Poland and several other provinces towards Hungary where he was received by the king of the Hungarians, who gave him some gifts.⁷ The work of John Capgrave is considered among the less valuable sources. Some elements of Capgrave's data were omitted: Lucy Smith did not accept the statement of Capgrave, according to which Henry had travelled towards Hungary and he had met Sigismund in Hungary. She supposed their appointment to have been in Vienna.⁸

The other source of Henry's pilgrimage is the account made on the journey written by Richard Kingston, the treasurer of Henry. This source includes the itemised accounts of Henry's daily expense and the cost of his lodging every day during his journey.⁹ According to the accounts Henry entered the territory of Bohemia at Görlitz on 7 October 1392. He stayed as a guest at the court of Wenzel, king of Bohemia for a long time, and leaving Prague he travelled towards Moravia.¹⁰ His next station was the unidentified Mederess on 28 October, then he reached Brno.¹¹ According to the opinion of Lucy Smith, Henry arrived at this town on 29 October.¹² Leaving Gedding Henry and a part of his retinue travelled to Wiskirke, from which he proceeded to Drysing and he stayed there on 1 November. Sconekirke is the following station where the English passengers appeared on 3 November, and they reached Vienna the next day on 4 November.¹³

III. The comparison of the route of Henry and the itinerary of Sigismund

Lucy Smith supposed that Henry and Sigismund, whose residence had been in Vienna, had met around the 6 November 1392 while Henry had been in Vienna.¹⁴ This meeting could be seemingly in Vienna, because Sigismund's itinerary includes an information referring to 1392, according to that he was in Kismarton (Eisenstadt) in this year, but the exact date was unknown.¹⁵ This town was forty kilometres distance south-east from Vienna. But contemporary Hungarian sources do not corroborate their meeting in Vienna. The documents of the reign of Sigismund contradict Lucy Smith, and show that Sigismund was in Visegrád on 1 November 1392.¹⁶

⁷ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, cx.

⁸ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lviii.

⁹ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, 147–291.

¹⁰ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lvi–lvii.

¹¹ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, 193.

¹² Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lvii.

¹³ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, 192–194.

¹⁴ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lviii.

¹⁵ Engel, *Az utazó király*, 72.

¹⁶ E. Mályusz, ed., *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Documents of the reign of Sigismund], vol. 1, Budapest 1951, nos. 2659, 2661, 2665–66, 2671–73.

Another possibility can be the end of October, when Henry was in Moravia. Lucy Smith observed that Henry had not travelled directly from Brno to Vienna, but he had turned north-east and had appeared with a part of his retinue in *Gedding* where he had crossed the River Morva, and had arrived at *Wiskirke*. Lucy Smith located the place of this town some kilometres from Olomouc. Henry returned to Brno after two and a half days. Smith could not explain this detour, but she supposed Henry to have visited Jodok, marquis of Moravia and his brother, Sobieslav, bishop of Olomouc and patriarch of Friuli, who were the cousins of King Wenzel.¹⁷ Smith identified *Gedding* with Göding and *Wiskirke* with Weisskirchen and she located them to have been in Moravia.¹⁸ These towns were indicated as Moravian settlements in the Bohemian Chapter (*in partibus Boemie*) of the critical edition of Henry's accounts.¹⁹ Smith followed the sequence of the dates accurately in her analysis on the accounts.

Henry's next station was *Drysing*, which Smith identified with Driesen in the critical edition of the accounts of Henry, but she omitted this settlement from the analysis of the Bohemian part of Henry's journey.²⁰ It is difficult to identify and to locate the aforementioned settlements, because their names changed in the twentieth century. *Gedding*, which Smith identified with Göding, was a village on the Bohemian side of the River Morva and the line of this river was the boundary between Hungary and Bohemia in the Middle Ages.²¹ Göding can be found as Hodonin on contemporary maps of Czech Republic, because its name was changed after World War I.²² Weisskirchen, which lay really south-east of Olmütz, contrary to Smith's opinion, was not in the territory of Bohemia but in Hungary. Weisskirchen can be identified with the medieval Újvár, *Alba Ecclesia*, Fehéregyház, Weissenkirch and Holíč on the Hungarian side of the River Morva in Nyitra county.²³ This village, which is in Slovakia today, is known as Holíč and it lays close to the boundary between Slovakia and Czech Republic.²⁴

Another settlement could be found under the name of Weisskirchen in Pozsony county in the medieval Hungary, but the modern name of this village is Fehéregyháza and it lies close to Trnava in the modern Slovakia.²⁵ *Alba Ecclesia* or Weisskirchen can not be found on the Czech side of the River Morva in this region. A reference to *Alba Ecclesia* or Weisskirchen, which can be found in a me-

¹⁷ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lvii.

¹⁸ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lvii, 332.

¹⁹ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, 188–193.

²⁰ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, lvii, 193–194, 260, 275.

²¹ Smith, *Derby Accounts*, 193, 329.

²² P. Bencsik, *Helységnévváltozások Köztes-Európában 1763–1995* [Transformations of the Place-names in Central Europe 1763–1995] Budapest 1997, 162. Nagy Világatlasz [Great World Atlas] Budapest 1987, 37.

²³ Gy. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical Geography of Hungary of the age of the Árpáds] Vol. 4. Budapest 1998, 481–482.

²⁴ Nagy Világatlasz, 37.

²⁵ Gy. Lelkes, *Magyar helységnév-azonosító szótár*. [Dictionary of identification of the Hungarian place-names] Baja 1998, 488.

dieval record, related to Újvár (Holič) in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.²⁶ According to the accounts, Henry's next station was *Drysing*, which Smith identified with *Driesen*, and this settlement could be identical with Drösing by the side of the River Morva in Austria.²⁷

Henry was in Brno on 29 October whence he went to Göding (Hodonin), and his next station was Weisskirchen (Holič) in Hungary. Leaving this castle and the territory of Hungary he arrived at Drösing where he entered the land of Austria. King Sigismund stayed in Trnava in the second half of October, as evidenced by the deeds issued by him on 18 and 24–25 October. Sigismund had already gone back to Visegrád, when he issued a deed on the 1 November.²⁸ The Hungarian king could have met Henry, earl of Derby between Weisskirchen (Holič) and Trnava in the territory of Hungary between 29 October and 1 November.

IV. The indirect evidences of the meeting of Henry and Sigismund

Henry visited the princes of the countries he crossed, for instance, he met Wenzel in Bohemia and Albrecht in Austria.²⁹ Having passed Austria, Henry travelled to Venice and sailed along the coast of Dalmatia, and landed in Dubrovnik, Lisca, Lesina, and Zara.³⁰ After spending some days in the Holy Land, he returned to Venice and landed in some Dalmatian ports. To visit Sigismund, who was the lord of the Dalmatian coast, was in Henry's interest, so as to secure his voyage.

An item relating to some embroidered clothes, given as a gift by Sigismund to Henry, is in the accounts of Henry's wardrobe during his journey. Eleven Venetian ducats were the value of the clothes in accordance with the accounts of Henry in Venice.³¹

Conclusions

Henry, earl of Derby passed through Prussia, Germany, Poland, Bohemia and Austria, and arrived in the Holy Land, from where he returned to England. According to his accounts and the narrative of Capgrave, he did not go directly from the Bohemian town of Brno to Vienna, but he travelled to the Hungarian boundary and crossed it in the vicinities of Újvár (Holics) on 30 or 31 October 1392. Having visited Sigismund, Henry returned to the Hungarian boundary and entered Austria, and Drösing was his first station on 1 November, and arrived in Vienna on 4 November. The contemporary sources do not give the explanation of Henry's detour to Hungary, but the narrative of John Capgrave indicates the reasons. According to Capgrave, Henry went to Hungary, so as to meet Sigismund, king of Hungary.

²⁶ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. ed. P. Ritter, V. Chlumecky, J. Chlytil, Brünn 1854, I, Supplementa 397, XXXIII.

²⁷ *Lelkes, Magyar helységnév-azonosító szótár*, Map 6.

²⁸ *Mályusz, Zsigmondkori Okmánytár*, 2653, 2655–56, 2659, 2661.

²⁹ *Smith, Derby Accounts*, lviii.

³⁰ *Smith, Derby Accounts*, lxxiv–lxxvii.

³¹ *Smith, Derby Accounts*, 285.

Das Amt des Szekler Gespans und Kronstadt vor 1467

ZOLTÁN KORDÉ



Der Szekler Gespan (*comes Siculorum*) war der oberste Vorstand der den Militärdienst berufsmäßig ausübenden, über Privilegien verfügenden und die territorial-administrative Autonomie ausbauenden Szekler. Das Amt – nach der Würde des Woiwoden – galt als der zweithöchste und bedeutendste Posten des mittelalterlichen Siebenbürgens. Seinen Inhaber wählte der Herrscher meistens unter den Familienmitgliedern der einflussreichen Barone; der ernannte Adel erwarb im Anschluss an dem Amt des Szekler Gespans auch andere Posten: So z.B. wurde er gleichzeitig auch der Gespan von Bistritz und von Mediasch (*comes de Byztricie*, *comes de Medgyes*). Während des 15. Jahrhunderts kam es auch mehrmals vor, dass der König den Posten des Woiwoden und des Szekler Gespans der selben Person (oder den selben Personen) anvertraute. Unter den Gründen wirkte auch die Bemühung um die wirksamste Verteidigung gegen die Türken mit. Der Prozess nahm während der Herrschaft von Matthias I. Corvinus (1458–1490) sein Ende: Nach dem Niederschlag des Aufstandes von 1466 in Siebenbürgen ernannte der König zwar in der Person von János Daróci einen selbständigen Gespan, aber nach dem bald darauf folgenden Tode des Mannes vereinigte der Herrscher die beiden Ämter und im Weiteren bekleidete das Amt des Szekler Gespans der jeweilige Woiwode. Damit endete im wesentlichen die eigenständige Epoche der Geschichte des Amtes – abgesehen von der kurzen Aktivität von János Tarcai, der zwischen 1504–1506 die Funktion des von dem Woiwoden unabhängigen Szekler Gespans innehatte.¹

¹ Zur Entstehung der Würde des Szekler Gespans und zur ihrer bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts dauernden Geschichte: Z. Kordé, „La haute noblesse hongroise. L'exemple des comtes des Sicules sous les rois Angevins,” in *La noblesse dans le territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dir. N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, Rome 2000, 443–455; Die Archontologie der Szekler Gespane: M. Lázár, „Székely ispánok és alispánok a mohácsi vészig,” [Szekler Gespane und Vizegespane bis zur Schlacht von Mohács] *Századok* 14 (1880), 732–750, 796–820.; P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Welt-

Kronstadt, das Zentrum des Burzenlandes entwickelte sich bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts dank seiner günstigen Gegebenheiten und geographischer Lage zur bedeutendsten Handelsstadt Siebenbürgens. Mitsamt seinem wirtschaftlichen Wachstum erweiterten sich auch seine Freiheitsrechte und Privilegien. Ab Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts (von 1294 an) haben wir Daten bezüglich des Kronstädter Gespans (*comes de Brasov*). Das Amt bekleideten anfangs die Angehörigen der Kronstädter Familie, ab 1342 aber gab der König dieses Amt in die Hand der Szekler Gespane. Gegen die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts bildete sich so eine enge Beziehung zwischen dem zweiteinflussreichsten Würdenträger und der bedeutendsten Handelsstadt Siebenbürgens aus. Dieses Verhältnis hielt im wesentlichen während der ganzen selbständigen Epoche des Amtes des Szekler Gespans vor 1467, obwohl sich seine Intensität und sein Charakter änderte. Die Untersuchung der ein und einviertel Jahrhunderte langen Periode macht es dank der verhältnismäßig guten Quellegegebenheiten möglich, dass wir uns ein Bild von dem Verhältnis der königlichen (zentralen) Macht bzw. des sie vertretenden Würdenträgers und einer nach dem Wachsen strebenden, blühenden Handelsstadt, bzw. von der Art und dem Maß der Durchsetzung der Jurisdiktion machen können. Eine weitere Besonderheit ist, dass Kronstadt nicht nur einfach eine der Städte des ungarischen Königreichs war, sondern Zentrum eines die ethnische Autonomie ausbauenden Gebietes, des Burzenlandes. Im Rahmen dieses kurzen Vortrags können wir natürlich nicht eine ganz ausführliche Bearbeitung des Themas, die Beantwortung aller auftauchenden Fragen unternehmen. Unsere Untersuchung richtet sich in erster Linie darauf, den Zeitraum von 1342–1467 zu überblicken, in welchen Fällen die Szekler Gespane Maßnahmen trafen, was für Einkünfte sie erhielten, beziehungsweise, wie die ab und zu dreipolige Verhältnissstruktur des Königs, des von ihm ernannten Amtsträger und der Stadt sich gestaltete.²

Anhand der uns zur Verfügung stehenden Daten konnte es zur Vereinigung der Ämter des Kronstädter und des Szekler Gespans in der zweiten Hälfte von 1342 kommen. Am 25. April dieses Jahres erwähnen die Quellen zum letzten Mal die Tätigkeit der Kronstädter Gespane Jakob und János Kronstädter, eine Urkunde vom 15. Januar 1343 gibt hingegen schon den Szekler Gespan Hermán nb. Lack als der Träger dieses Titels an (*Ladislai comitis siculorum et de Brasso*).³ In seinem am 18. Oktober 1344 herausgegebenen Diplom titulierte der neue Szekler Gespan András Lackfi sich selbst auch als Kronstädter Gespan (*Nos Magister And-*

liche Archontologie von Ungarn], vol. 1, Budapest 1996 (im weiteren Archont.), 192–194; Zur endgültigen Vereinigung der Würde des Woiwoden und des Szekler Gespans: A. Kubinyi, „Erdély a Mohács előtti évtizedekben,“ [Siebenbürgen in den Jahrzehnten vor Mohács] in *Tanulmányok Erdély történetéről*. Hg. I. Rácz, Debrecen 1988, 67, 72.

² Zur Verhältnis zwischen Kronstadt und der Szekler Gespane: Archont. 1: 121–122, 192.

³ Letzte Erwähnung von Jakob und János Kronstädter: Archont. 1: 121. Die Erwähnung von Lack als Kronstädter Gespan: I. Nagy, *Sopron vármegye története* [Die Geschichte des Komitats Sopron]. *Oklevéltár* [Archiv]. vol. 1, Sopron 1889, 197.

reas, comes trium generum Siculorum, de Brassow).⁴ In der Fachliteratur kam auch vor, dass es nach dem Niederwerfen des sächsischen Aufstandes von 1344 zur Erweiterung des Amtes des Szekler Gespans um das des Kronstädter comes kam. Über die Bewegung erwähnt János Kükülle, der Biograph vom König Ludwig I.: „Im Lande der Sachsen, in den Siebenbürger Teilen bestimmtes Volk empörte und lehnte die übliche Steuer und die Erfüllung der königlichen Rechte ab. Dieser König ging persönlich, ihren Wagemut zu unterdrücken, mit einem starken Heer Krieg beginnend, mit seinen Baronen, Rittern, Adeln und Landbewohnern, und er kehrte siegreich und mit Ruhm heim, die Sachsen bändigend und auf den Gehorsam zurückführend.“⁵ Im Gegensatz zum Bericht von Kükülle schweigen die Urkunden davon, dass es zu gewaltigen, blutigen Kämpfen gekommen wäre. Die Forschung machte sich also Gedanken darüber, dass es Ludwig im Wege von Verhandlungen gelungen sein muss, die Situation zu klären.⁶ Die Bewegung fand im Laufe des Juli statt; vorher, Mitte Juni, befand sich der Herrscher in Kronstadt, wo er sich mit dem Treue schwörenden Walachen-Woiwoden Nicolae Alexandru beriet. Wegen des hiesigen Aufenthalts des Königs schien es weniger wahrscheinlich, dass auch die Stadt an der Bewegung teilgenommen hätte, der Aufstand muss sich vielmehr auf die sächsischen Gebiete in Süd-Siebenbürgen ausgebreitet haben. Die Hauptrolle spielten also nicht diese Unruhen in der Unterordnung des Amtes des Kronstädter Gespans unter dem Vorstand der Szekler; der Aufstand muss Ludwig eher bestärkt haben bezüglich der Richtigkeit seines vor zwei Jahren ausgeführten Schrittes und in seinem Entschluss, im weiteren die Stadt und den dazu gehörenden Distrikt (*districtus*) dem mit großer Macht versehenen, königlichen Amtsträger unterzuordnen. Es ist nicht überraschend, dass dieses Amt der Szekler Gespan bekleidete, ist das Szeklerland doch dem Burzenland benachbart (und es ist urkundlich beweisbar, dass das Burzenland schon von Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts an über Szekler Bewohner verfügte).⁷ Obendrein erstreckte sich die Macht des *comes Siculorum* sowieso auch auf andere sächsische Gebiete, wie zum Beispiel auf Bistritz oder auf Mediasch. In der Fach-

⁴ K. Szabó, *Székely Oklevéltár* [Szekler Archiv] (im weiteren: SZO.) vol. 1, Kolozsvár 1872, 51.

⁵ „Quedam gens Saxonum in eius regno in partibus Transsiluanis quasdam commotiones fecisset, et censum consuetum ac iura regalia solvere denegasset. Copioso igitur moto exercitu idem rex cum suis baronibus, militibus, nobilibus et regnicolis ad conterendam ipsorum proterviam personaliter accessit, et eis referentis ac ad obedientiam reductis laudabiliter triumphando remeavit“ (Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*. I. Textus. ed. E. Galántai J. Kristó, Budapest 1985, 161–162.)

⁶ Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [Die Kriege der Anjou-Zeit]. Budapest 1988, 94.

⁷ Dies beweist die Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1213 vom Siebenbürger Bischof Wilhelm, in der er auf den dortigen Zehnten zugunsten des im Burzenland angesiedelten Deutschen Ritterordens verzichtete, ausgenommen „eo tamen excepto, quod si Vngaros vel Siculos ad dictam terram transire contigerit, nobis et ecclesiae nostrae in decimis teneantur respondere“ (F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. 7 Bde. Hermannstadt–Köln–Wien–Bukarest 1892–1991. (im weiteren: US.) 1: 16.)

literatur tauchte auf, dass Kronstadt für eine kurze Zeit (1350–1353) aus der Oberhoheit der Szekler Gespane herauskam und unter der Regierung der Siebenbürger Woiwoden stand.⁸ Die uns bekannten Daten weisen aber auf keine solche Zäsur hin. So zum Beispiel die Urkunde des Siebenbürger Fürsten Stephan, datiert auf den 8. Oktober 1351, spricht Nikolaus, den Sohn von Bereck an (*Nicolaus filio Briccij, comiti de Braschau*).⁹ Gleichzeitig erwähnt das Diplom des Palatins Miklós Zsámboky, datiert am 24. Januar 1351, Nikolaus, den Sohn von Bereck als Szekler Gespan bezüglich Mai 1351.¹⁰ Nicolaus war also gleichzeitig Szekler und Kronstädter Gespan. Im Amt des Szekler Gespans scheint auch der Posten von Lőkös Raholcai „Tót“, der an die Stelle von Nicolaus, dem Sohn von Bereck trat, ununterbrochen zu sein. Die Urkunde vom 2. September 1353 des Kapitels von Weissenburg erwähnt seine beiden Titel (*Leukus comiti Siculorum et de Brasow*), ebenso wie das Diplom von Ludwig I., datiert mit 9. Juli 1355 (*magistro Leukus comiti Siculorum et de Brassou*).¹¹ Es ist wahr, dass eine Angabe vom 27. Juli 1352 das Amt des Kronstädter Gespans vom Siebenbürger Woiwoden Miklós Raholcai „Kont“, dem Bruders von Lőkös, erwähnt,¹² in diesem Fall handelt es sich aber darum, dass entweder die Bekleidung dieses Amtes nicht lange dauerte, oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, dass einer der Geschwister – möglicherweise der Träger der einflussreicheren Würde – eine der Funktionen des anderen provisorisch übernahm. Nach 1353 benutzen die Szekler Gespane den Titel *comes de Brasov* nur selten (so zum Beispiel in der am 4. Mai 1408 herausgegebenen Urkunde von Mihály Nádas: *Nos Michael filius Salamonis de Nadas, trium generum siculorum, ... Brassouie comes*), aber das bedeutet nicht, dass ihre Befugnis über die Stadt außer Kraft gesetzt worden wäre. Neben zahlreichen anderen Quellen unterstützt dies der Befehlsbrief von Ludwig I., datiert auf den 10. Mai 1370, den er an den Szekler Gespan István Lackfi und seine Kronstädter Vertreter richtete (*magistro Stephano comiti Siculorum ... et eius vices gerenti in Brassow*).¹³ Anhand der oben erwähnten Quellen sind wir der Meinung, dass die Befugnis der Szekler Gespane über Kronstadt im Zeitraum von 1342–1467 für ununterbrochen betrachtet werden kann.

Im weiteren versuchen wir, eine Antwort auf die Frage zu bekommen, woraus bestand und von welcher Art war die Zuständigkeit der Szekler Gespane über Kronstadt und ihre Umgebung. Es ist als natürlich zu bezeichnen, und es beweisen auch mehrere Daten, dass die Szekler Gespane eine Art übergeordnete Gerichtsinstanz für die Kronstädter und Burzenländer bedeuteten. In seiner mit 18.

⁸ Archont. 1: 121.

⁹ SZO 1: 60.

¹⁰ *A nagykállói Kállay-család oklevéltára* [Die Urkundensammlung der Familie Kállay von Nagykovács]. Vol. 2, Budapest 1943, 12.

¹¹ 2. September 1353: I. Nagy, Gy. Tasnádi Nagy, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*. 7 Bde. Budapest 1878–1920, 6: 109. Der 9. Juli 1355: US 2: 110.

¹² Archont. 1: 121.

¹³ 4. Mai 1408: S. Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus sacri Romani imperii comitum familiae Teleki de Szék*. 2 Bde. Budapest 1895, 1: 337; 10. Mai 1370: US 2: 349.

Februar 1395 datierten Urkunde erteilte Sigismund den Amtsträgern aller Art des Landes den Befehl, dass sie die Kronstädter und die Leute aus der Umgebung der Stadt nicht in Haft nehmen und über sie nicht richten dürfen – mit Ausnahme von Fällen des öffentlichen Verbrechens, des Diebstahls und des Raubes –, sondern diese Leute sollen ihr Recht vor dem Richter und den Geschworenen der Stadt suchen, und wenn sie mit dem Urteil nicht zufrieden wären, können sie den Fall vor dem Szekler Gespan bringen (*in presenciam comitis Siculorum nostrorum videlicet comitis ipsorum civium et hospitum*).¹⁴ Es kam vor, dass der Siebenbürger Woiwode und der Szekler Gespan für die Kronstädter gemeinsam Gericht hielten, wie zum Beispiel im September 1412, als sie unter anderen das Zollverzeichnis der Kronstädter, bzw. das Gerichtsverfahren und die Bußen betreffenden Vorschriften bestätigten.¹⁵ In seinem vom 21. März 1417 datierten Diplom befahl König Sigismund selbst dem Kronstädter Rat, seinen Bürgern die Teilnahme an dem Földvárer freien Markt nicht untersagen zu dürfen; er beauftragte mit der Aufsicht der Einhaltung der Anordnung den Szekler Gespan Mihály Nádasí oder den Siebenbürger Woiwoden.¹⁶ Ähnlich setzte Johannes Hunyadi den Szekler Gespane auch zur Aufgabe, wenn sie bei den Kronstädtern von den neugeprägten Münzen sich unterscheidende Gold- oder Silbermünzen fänden, sie diese beschlagnahmen und einziehen sollten.¹⁷ Man könnte noch viele andere Beispiele anführen, aber so viel sind vielleicht genügend, um zu beweisen, dass die Befugnis der Szekler Gespane über Kronstadt und ihre Umgebung gar nicht übertragen war.

Die Szekler Gespane gingen auch in Besitz- und Wirtschaftssachen vor. So zum Beispiel urteilte der Szekler Gespan Salamon Nádasí in Übereinstimmung mit dem Kronstädter Rat über ein umstittenes Grundstück zwischen Földvár und Veresmart gegen die Interessen von Földvár. Durch den Einspruch der Geschädigten veranlasst befahl aber Sigismund im Jahre 1425 dem damaligen Szekler Gespan, Péter Pelsőci Bebek, dass er die Sache wieder untersuchen und ein gerechtes Urteil fällen solle.¹⁸ Im Jahre 1449 gaben aber die Richter und Geschworenen von Kronstadt und dem Burzenland ein Diplom darüber heraus, dass der Szekler Gespan János Kusalyi Jakcs an der Grenze von Prasmar oppidum im Auftrag des Königs einst Grenzzeichen errichtete und dies bestätigte auch Sigismund selbst.¹⁹ Andernfalls kam den Szeklergespanen die Aufgabe zu, die infolge der Leihgabe entstandenen Rechte geltend zu machen. In seinem am 6. Juni 1419 datierten Befehlsbrief wies Sigismund Mihály Nádasí an, dass er die Confraternitas der Kronstädter St. Maria Kirche gegen den als Zandor genannten Antal, der zwar die Hälfte seiner Güter den Geschwistern hinterließ, aber sie jetzt weiter

¹⁴ US 3: 88.

¹⁵ E. Mályusz, I. Borsa, ed. *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Urkundensammlung der Sigismund-Zeit] Vol. 3. Budapest 1993, 605, Nr. 2636.

¹⁶ US 4: 33–34.

¹⁷ US 5: 178–179.

¹⁸ US 4: 240–242.

¹⁹ US 5: 286–287

benutzt, verteidigen soll.²⁰ Es lohnt sich, auch die Urkunde zu erwähnen, die König Sigismund anhand des Antrags von dem Szekler Gespan, Mihály Kusalyi Jakcs ausstellen ließ. In dieser Urkunde befreit er die Kronstädter und Burzenländer für sechs, die Földvárer für zwölf Jahre von der Bezahlung aller Steuern mit Rücksicht auf die Zerstörung durch die Türken.²¹

Das letztere Diplom führt uns zu einer anderen Aufgabe der Kronstadt überwachenden Szekler Gespane, zur Sicherung des militärischen Schutzes, der eben wegen der türkischen Angriffe von höchster Wichtigkeit wurde. Diese Aufgabe war keine einseitige Verpflichtung, die Szekler Gespane kamen ja selbst durch die Kronstädter Händler, die in den rumänischen Woiwodenschaften herunkamen, zu vielen wichtigen Informationen. Am 27. September 1427 ordnete Sigismund vier Dörfern an, dass sie mit dem Transport verschiedener Mittel und Materialien zur Befestigung von Kronstadt beitragen sollen. In dem Fall des Nichtgehorchens machte er es dem Szekler Gespan, Mihály Nádas, zur Aufgabe diese Dörfer zur Vernunft zu bringen.²² Mihály Kusalyi Kakcs machte zum Beispiel am 6. März 1432 dem Kronstädter Richter und den Geschworenen Vorwürfe darüber, dass sie ihm keine Nachrichten über die Situation an der Grenze übermitteln: „*Non enim nobis sufficit admirari ut quae fama tam prospera quam adversa illius confinii imitanda potius per vestras audire deberamus amicitias quam per colloquia aliorum auribus nostris insonari.*“ Gleichzeitig versprach er ihnen auch militärische Hilfe.²³ Nach einem Jahr benachrichtigt er wieder die Stadt, dass er von den Angriffen der Türken und Rumänen Kenntnis nehmend, mit seinen Familiaren der Stadt bald zu Hilfe eile.²⁴ Wie wichtig die durch die Kronstädter gelieferten Nachrichten waren, beweist auch der Brief von Henrik Tamás, der die Stadtbewohner darum bittet, ihn über alle aus der Walachei kommende Neuigkeiten zu benachrichtigen, damit er ihnen so schnell wie möglich zu Hilfe eilen könne, wenn es nötig wäre.²⁵ Am 14. Februar 1438 hielt König Albert es für wichtig, der Stadt darüber Auskunft zu geben, dass er als Szekler Gespan solche Männer ernannt, die fähig sind, sie vor dem Feind zu beschützen.²⁶ Die Worte Alberts spiegeln wider, dass bei der Auswahl für die Würde des Szekler Gespans in dieser Zeit die militärische Fähigkeit und das, dass der Amtsträger fähig sein soll, die ihm in Obhut übergebene Handelsstadt gegen die reale Gefahr bedeutende türkische Angriffe zu verteidigen, eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

Die Beziehung zwischen der Stadt und den Würdenträgern war nicht in allen Fällen so harmonisch und freundlich. Verständlicherweise geben uns in erster Linie die von den Herrschern herausgegebenen Urkunden über die Reibungen und Konflikte zwischen den Szekler Gespanen oder deren Stellvertretern und der

²⁰ US 4: 90–91.

²¹ US 4: 558–560.

²² US 4: 129–130.

²³ US 4: 453–454.

²⁴ US 4: 500.

²⁵ US 4: 634.

²⁶ SZO 1: 136–137.

Stadt bzw. ihrer Umgebung Auskunft. Im Oktober 1351 kam es schon dazu, dass der Siebenbürger Fürst Stephan dem Nikolaus, dem Sohn von Bereck (der – wie schon oben erwähnt – gleichzeitig Kronstädter und Szekler Gespan war) untersagte, im weiteren den Viertel des Zehnten von den Burzenländer Kirchen zu beschlagnahmen.²⁷ Dass das Verbot ohne Erfolg blieb, zeigt, dass Ludwig I. im Jahre 1355 eben diese üble Gewohnheit dem damaligen Gespan, Lőkös Raholcai „Tót“, und seinem Vertreter untersagen musste.²⁸ Die Absicht der Steigerung der Stadtfreiheit drückt sich im Befehlsbrief Ludwig I. von 1370 aus, mit dem er den jeweiligen Gespanen und deren Kronstädter Vertretern anordnete, dass sie die Privilegien der Kronstädter in Hinsicht auf die Beurteilung der falschen Maßeinheiten und auf die Handelssachen respektieren und ihre Judikatur mit diesen Freiheitsrechten bzw. mit der Judikatur des dortigen Schiedsrichters harmonisieren sollen.²⁹ Ähnliche Absichten könnten das von Königin Maria am 25. November 1385 herausgegebenen Diplom motivieren. In dieser Urkunde verbietet sie den Szekler Gespanen, mit häufigem descensus, mit der Einnahme zu vieler Lebensmittel, mit der Veranlagung neuer Geldbußen und mit der Einführung ungewöhnlicher Gesetze die Rechte und Freiheiten der Kronstädter und Burzenländer weiter zu verletzen.³⁰ Sigismund wollte in seinem Diplom von 1395 verhindern, dass István Kanizsai bzw. die zukünftigen Szekler Gespane und ihre Vertreter den Dreißigstzoll und andere Zölle von den Hermannstädtern und Kronstädtern verlangen.³¹ Manchmal gaben ganz eigentümliche Streitigkeiten zu Klagen gegen die Szekler Gespane Anlass: Wir erfahren aus dem Diplom Sigismunds aus dem Jahr 1423, dass die Leute der vorherigen Szekler Gespane den Lauf des Baches Rákös umleiteten, so daß die Bewohner Földvárs ihre Fischteiche nicht mehr mit Wasser speisen konnten. Dieses Vorgehen gaben auch die Amtsträger des damaligen Gspans, Péter Pelsőcis nicht auf, was Sigismund natürlich verbot.³² In anderen Fällen mussten aber die Gespane die unter ihre Oberhoheit gehörenden Szekler hindern, etwas gegen die Interessen der Stadt zu tun. So zum Beispiel ermahnte am 13. April 1464 Matthias den János Dengelegi Pongrác – der gleichzeitig Siebenbürger Woiwode und Szekler Gespan war –, die Szekler von Sepsi, Orba, Kézd und Csík zu verhindern, die nach Moldau fahrenden und von da kommenden Händler zu illegaler Zahlung zu zwingen.³³ Es kamen aber auch umgekehrte Situationen vor, als die Szekler Gespane selbst oder ihre Leute Schaden wegen der Kronstädter erlitten. Im Jahre 1427, als Sigismund in Földvár mit seinen Baronen gemeinsam Gerichtshof hielt, tritt Péter Gyapoli, der Familiaris des ehemaligen Szekler Gspans, Péter Belsőci Bebek, an ihm heran. Er klagte dem König, dass als er im Auftrag seines Herren von den Kronstädtern die

²⁷ SZO 1: 60–61.

²⁸ US 2: 110.

²⁹ US 2: 348–349.

³⁰ US 3: 601–602.

³¹ US 3: 142–143.

³² US 4: 189–190.

³³ US 6: 174–175.

rechtmäßigen Jahresbezüge eintreiben wollte, der Kronstädter Richter und die Geschworenen die Familiares dreier Nicht-Adeliger töteten, ihn selbst 32 Tage lang eingesperrt hielten und ihm 1,000 Forint Schaden verursachten. Der Herrscher beauftragte die damaligen Gespane Mihály und János Kusalyi Jakcs mit der Eintreibung des Wergeldes und des Schadenersatzes.³⁴ Man brauchte 1459 auch die Anordnung des Herrschers – Matthias I. –; da befahl der König dem Kronstädter Rat, die früher, während der Kriegsgefahr von den Szekler Gespanen János Lábatlani und László Paksi bei ihnen verborgenen 7,000 *forint* werten Güter beziehungsweise den vom Kastellan von Törcs gestohlenen, aber von den Kronstädtern von ihm übernommenen Pfeffer, den rechtmäßigen Besitzern zurückzugeben.³⁵ Ebenfalls brauchte man die Aufforderung von Matthias dazu, dass die Kronstädter und Burzenländer den täglichen census vom Martinstag, der den Szekler Gespanen gebührte, bezahlen.³⁶ Eine Besonderheit unter den angeführten Beispielen ist die Urkunde des Kronstädter Distrikts von 1414, die beweist, dass der Würdenträger für die dem Szekler Gespan Mihály Nádasí gebührende, aber nicht bezahlte Buße den Földváren die Rinder rechtmäßig weggenommen hat.³⁷

Wenn auch der Überblick der die Aktivität der Szekler Gespane darstellenden – nicht vollständigen – Beispiele, wie oben schon erwähnt, für die Beantwortung aller auftauchenden Fragen nicht geeignet ist, bietet er aber die Möglichkeit zum Ziehen einiger Schlussfolgerungen. Die augenfälligste Lehre dieser Quellen ist vielleicht, dass sie einen Einblick in das Zusammentreffen und längere Zusammenleben zweier eigener Welten gewähren. Die vom König ernannten Szekler Gespane kamen aus der Schicht der Großherren, Barone, deren Macht in ihrem riesigen Besitz und in ihren während des Würdetragens gesammelten Einkünften wurzelt. Obwohl sie dem Herrscher dienten, schreckten sie nicht davor zurück, sich gegen ihn zu wenden, wenn es in ihren Interessen lag und die politischen Verhältnisse es möglich machten, wie zum Beispiel während des Aufstandes von 1466 gegen Matthias. Wir können über ihre Eigenmächtigkeit und Gesetzverletzungen lesen, gleichzeitig ist es aber zweifellos, dass sie in dem unter ihre Oberhoheit gehörenden Gebiet doch die wichtigsten Verwahrer und Beschützer der Gesetzlichkeit waren. Sie schreckte auch die Möglichkeit nicht, auf dem Schlachtfeld zu sterben, wie z. B. János Daróci, der letzte selbstständige Szekler Gespan unter Matthias. Ihr Pflichtbewusstsein und ihre Erfahrung in militärischen Angelegenheiten trugen viel dazu bei, dass es ihnen gelang, im gegebenen Zeitraum den Teil Siebenbürgens – so Kronstadt und Burzenland –, über den sie die Gerichtsbarkeit ausübten, vor der verhängnisvollen Katastrophe zu beschützen. Der andere Beteiligte der Geschehnisse ist eine Stadt, die dank ihrer günstigen Gegebenheiten einerseits, die Unterstützung der ungarischen Könige genießend andererseits, ihre Freiheitsrechte in immer größerem Maß ausweiten konnte. In der

³⁴ US 4: 281–283.

³⁵ US 6: 53–54.

³⁶ US 6: 32.

³⁷ US 3: 610–611.

Mehrheit der Fälle konnte sie diesen Rechten auch gegen den übergeordneten königlichen Amtsträger Geltung verschaffen. Wir dürfen aber nicht vergessen, dass – obwohl es manchmal anders scheint – keine Gegner sich gegenüber standen, sondern die Figuren einer politischen Machtstruktur, deren Aktivität grundsätzlich für alle drei Parteien, für die zentrale Macht, den königlichen Amtsträger und die Stadt von Bedeutung war.

Zum Nachleben antiker Gedanken in den Kommentaren von Ludovicus Tubero

Spuren antiker natural-organischer Geschichtsauffassung

ERZSÉBET GALÁNTAI



Historia ... qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?

(Cicero, *De oratore*, II. 36.)

Der hervorragende dalmatische Humanist von aristokratischer Abstammung, Ludovicus Tubero¹ hat mit seinem Geschichtswerk² als Benediktiner begonnen. Er behandelt die Geschichte seiner Epoche – vor allem die von Ungarn – vom Tode König Matthias' bis zum Tode von Papst Leo X., also bis 1522. Das Werk wurde dem Erzbischof von Kalocsa, Gregorio Frangepan dediziert, mit dessen humanistischem Kreis er enge Freundschaft pflegte. Das Werk wurde dreimal publiziert, (1603, 1764, 1784) , aber es gibt bisher keine kritische Ausgabe der Kommentare.

Etwa zwei Drittel des Werkes ist mit der ungarischen Geschichte verbunden.³ Die Kommentare wurden in Rom (im Jahre 1734) wegen der Kritik des Autors gegen den Klerus verboten.

¹ Dem originalen Namen nach Ludovicus Cervarius alias Crievic, geb. im Jahre 1459 in Ragusa, gest. 1527 ebendort. Er studierte an der Pariser Universität, wo er nach Humanistensitte seinen Namen latinisierte. Nach seiner Rückkehr nach Ragusa (1484) tritt er in den Benediktiner Orden ein.

² *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae abbatis Commentariorum de rebus suo tempore, nimirum ab anno Christi MCCCCXCmoque ad annum Christi MDXXII. in Pannonia et finitimis regionibus gestis libri XI.*

³ Diese Teile sind als erste Übersetzung unter folgendem Titel erschienen: *Ludovicus Tubero: Kortörténeti feljegyzések (Magyarország)*. [Kommentare zur Geschichte seiner Zeit (Ungarn)] Einl., Übers., Anm.-en L. Blazovich, E. Sz. Galántai, Szeged 1994.

Tuberos Vorbild war vor allem Sallust, aber stellenweise ist auch die Wirkung anderer klassischer Autoren bemerkbar, z.B. Ciceros, Caesars, die des Livius, Vergil, Horatius, Tacitus u. a. Die stärkste Wirkung auf unseren Autor – mit seiner Geschichtsauffassung und moralisierenden Absicht – hat ohne Zweifel Sallust ausgeübt.⁴

Seinen Anschauungen nach ist Tubero ein aristokratischer Geschichtsschreiber, der die sich in Europa seiner Zeit und seiner unmittelbaren Region – vor allem in „Pannonia“ seiner Zeit – abspielende gesellschaftliche Krise wahrnimmt, nach dem Lesen der römischen Autoren, besonders des Sallust, Cicero u. Livius, in der Rückkehr zu den alten Sitten und Idealen die einzige Möglichkeit der Verbesserung der Lage, d. h. der Lösung der Krise sieht. An zahlreichen Stellen – besonders in den *Reden*, die seinem Werk nach Humanistensitten eine *rhetorische Färbung* bieten – sind Beweise dafür zu finden. Z.B.

O si Attila ... ab infernis rediret, quanta indignatione gentem suam iam degenerem aversaretur? (I. 7.); ... ideone vos Attila, rex ille clarissimus et victor Europae ab Hyperboreis montibus eduxit, ut paucorum superbiae ludibrio essetis? ... (X. 4.)

Ebenso, den europäischen Zuständen entsprechend, sieht er Ungarn als die inmitten des Untergangs seines europäischen Ansehens lebende mittelalterliche Großmacht.

Er betrachtet mit einem, in der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung ungewohnten, *rechtlichen* Motiv die historischen Geschehnisse, dessen Wurzeln in seiner Bildung und moralischer Überzeugung zu suchen sind.⁵ Bei der Erzählung versucht er immer die moralischen Gründe der Ereignisse zu finden, oder er fügt seiner Erzählung derartige Anmerkungen an. Diese moralisierende Tendenz bringt ihn vor allem Sallust nahe. Deshalb ist es üblich, ihn in der Fachliteratur „Sallusius Ragusanus“ zu nennen.⁶

Tuberos Geschichtsauffassung setzt sich aus antiken und mittelalterlichen Elementen zusammen, im wesentlichen ist er aber christlich. Seine Auffassung ruht auf der Überzeugung der christlichen Geschichtskonzeption, daß alle Macht von Gott ausgeht. An zahlreichen Stellen seiner Kommentare sind Beweise dafür

⁴ Vgl. E. Galántai, „Fortwirken von antiken dichterischen Formen u. Motiven in den Prosawerken der Humanisten,“ *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica* 27 (1998), S. 230–235. Dieselbe: *Magyarország humanista történetírók* [Humanistische Geschichtsschreiber in Ungarn] Szeged 1999, S. 118–164. (Handschrift) Mit einer Stilanalyse der Kommentare und weiterführender Literatur; Vl. Rezar, „Dubrovacki Humanisticki Historiograf L. Cr. Tuberon“ *Anali Dubrovnika* 37 (1999), S. 47–94; Gy. Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia* [Ungarische Historiographie] I. Budapest 2002. S.123; L. Havas, S. Kiss, „Die Geschichtskonzeption A. Bonfinis,“ in *Diffusion des Humanismus Wallstein*, 2002, S. 282–317; Über die Wirkung der antiken Geschichtskonzeption auf die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung s. P. Kulcsár, *Humanista történetírók*, [Humanistische Geschichtsschreiber] Budapest 1977, bes. S. 1188–89.

⁵ Vgl. L. Blazovich, „L. (Crijevic) Tubero jogszemlélete, [Tuberos Rechtsauffassung]“ *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Juridica et Politica* 40/3 (1991), S. 41–52.

⁶ Vgl. Anm. 4.

zu finden. Hier werden wir nur typische Hinweise dafür hervorheben. Vor allem die Reden und Exkurse bieten dem Autor eine Möglichkeit, auch seine Meinung über die Personen und Ereignisse zu äußern und seine Überzeugung zum Ausdruck zu bringen. So sagt er zum Beispiel im dritten Kapitel des zweiten Buches, wo sich Bischof Johannes von König Vladislaus II. verabschiedet:

Itaque Deum precamur, cuius nutu ac voluntate imperia parari nulli dubium esse debet ...

Der Substantiv *nutus* steht dem *numen* und dem Verb *annuo* nahe, die in der römischen Literatur (z.B. in Aeneis von Vergilius) sehr oft vorkommen.

Deus, summus rerum parens ac dominus ... (X. 4.)

Neque enim sine Dei nutu in unum armati ... convenistis ... (X. 4.)

... ita Deo constituyente, qui promissis ac iuramento semper testis adest. (IV. 14.) u. a.

Atque si Deus coeptis annuerit, maiora, quam animis concipitis, aggrediemur. (III. 2.)

Vgl. z.B. ... annuit et risit Cytherea repertis. (Verg. Aen. IV. 128.)

Gott, die Natur und der Mensch befinden sich unserer Meinung nach im engen Zusammenhang bei Tuberio. Dies kann eine Erklärung auch dafür sein, daß die sogenannte *natural-organische Geschichtsauffassung* eine bedeutende Wirkung auf ihn ausgeübt hat.

Ein Grundsatz, der für die römische Historiographie charakteristisch und ausschlaggebend in der Geschichtsauffassung des Sallust bzw. Livius ist und am vollständigsten bei Florus⁷ zum Ausdruck kommt, ist ein Prinzip: die Völker, die Länder, Reiche und Machtssysteme als lebendige Organismen zu begreifen, die – wie die Natur – die Geburt, Entwicklung, Entfaltung/Blütezeit und danach Verfall und Vergehen durchlaufen. Sehr typisch ist dafür die Geschichte bei Livius, die Menenius Agrippa als Orator dem Volk – bei seinem Auszug auf den heiligen Berg – erzählt. Es lohnt sich, diese Geschichte ins Gedächtnis zu bringen.

...Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium⁸ spem reliquam ducere; eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse.

Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam ... Is intromissus in castra .. nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in homine non ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes

⁷ J. Nadányi, „Florus Hungaricus“ Agatha (2001).

⁸ Die *concordia civium*, die bei Sallust und Livius oft vorkommt, ist schon zu Beginn der Kommentare (I/1, *Scopus auctoris*) zu lesen: ... *regna non magis armis parari atque augeri, quam civili concordia conservari* ... Zum Stil von Sallust s. S. Schmal, Sallust, Hildesheim (2001), S. 128–139.

quae acciperent conficerent. Hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc quam intestina corporis se-ditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Der Orator hat also die Rebellion des Volks mit der Verschwörung von Körperteilen verglichen und damit die Absicht des Volks verändert.

Auch für M. T. Cicero ist sehr kennzeichnend, die „*res publica*“ auf diese Weise zu betrachten. An zahlreichen Stellen seiner Werke sind dafür Beweise zu finden. Wie bekannt, hat er auf den *rhetorischen Charakter* der humanistischen Geschichtsschreibung⁹ eine große Wirkung ausgeübt. Deshalb halten wir es für wichtig, seine Wirkung auch in dieser Hinsicht – mehr als in der früheren Forschung – zu betonen. Ausdrücke solcher Art kommen sehr oft in seinen Reden vor. In der ersten Catilinarischen Rede z. B. finden wir eine Analogie zwischen der menschlichen Krankheit und der Krankheit der „*res publica*“

...hanc tam taetram ... rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. (V. 11.)

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi ... sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica ... (XIII. 31.)

...omnium scelerum maturitas ... erupit. (XIII. 31.)

Im weiteren werden wir versuchen, die Spuren derartiger Geschichtsauffassung (d.h. Bilder mit organischem Bezug) bei L. Tubero aufzuzeigen. Wie oben erwähnt wurde, sind in „*Scopus auctoris*“, in den Reden und Exkursen Beweise für die Geschichtsauffassung und moralische Überzeugung des Verfassers zu suchen. Einige davon werden wir hervorheben.

Im ersten Kapitel erwähnt er die *discordia* als *pestis*:

...cum rebuspublicis nihil sit intestina discordia perniciosius, nec ulla alia pestis ... ea validior magis ...

In demselben Kapitel benutzt er die folgende Analogie:

... per se, ubi discordia immigravit, regna collabuntur ac veluti ingentia in montibus robora, quae nulla vis ventorum convellere potest, carie ipsa proprio vitio imis radicibus innata, nullo impellente ad terram concidunt; quod profecto Regno Hungariae paene evenire vidimus ...

In seiner Rede argumentiert Stephanus Báthori für den heimatischen König mit evidenten Beispielen aus der Natur:

... et bruta animalia, naturae ipsius instinctu, ex suo genere sibi duces ... habere soleant, ... (I. 7.)

⁹ Vgl. Anm. 4. u. dazu É. Aszalós, „Leonardo Bruni, a firenzei történetírás atyja,“ [Leonardo Bruni, der Vater der florentinischen Historiographie] *Debreceni Szemle* (1998/3), S. 400–407.

... gentem suam ... quae ... ritu iumentorum iugum ab externo impositum sub-
misse ferre ...

... et id tibi in tractandis tuorum animis faciundum arbitror, quod prudentes me-
dici in curandis corporibus facere solent... (II. 3.)

... nonne pro monstro esset habitum ursini capitis animal, cui caetera membra le-
onis essent? Abhorret enim natura ab inepta ac deformis eiusdem corporis diversi-
tate. Porro certum est id regem in regno esse, quod caput in corpore. (I. 7.)

Und die Konklusion lautet:

Inter nos igitur nobis rex quaerendus est. (ebendort)¹⁰

Die Natur wird in seinem Werk oft personifiziert (z.B. *a natura donata virtus* zählt für eine Stereotypie), und Analogien folgender Art sind stellenweise zu lesen:

... tamquam solem, *Hungarica barbarie veluti atra quadam nube, diu conditum*
nostroque demum adventu lucem resumturum, expectat ... (III. 2.)

Die Zahl der Beispiele, aus denen hervorgeht, daß bei Tubero sowohl der Stil der klassischen Autoren, als auch deren Geschichtsauffassung nachzuvollziehen ist, könnte noch lange erweitert werden. Es ist insgesamt festzustellen, daß der dalmatische Humanist eine eigenartige Synthese der antiken und christlichen Geschichtsbetrachtung geschaffen hat.

¹⁰ Die Stilanalyse und antike Parallelen dieser Reden s. In: *Magyarországi humanista törté-*
netírók, vgl. Anm. 4. S. 118–164. Dazu noch : Erzählung über die Tapferkeit von zwei
türkischen Gefangenen (V. 9.) scheint sehr ähnlich der Geschichte von Damon und
Phintias zu sein. Vgl. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 257. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5. 22. 63. Die Sammlung des
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schung in Ungarn] unterstützt.

The Carmen Miserabile: some issues concerning the transmission of the text

TIBOR ALMÁSI



Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Hungarian historians have been inclined to believe that there is no surviving manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile*, a work of history about the Mongol Invasion of Hungary by Rogerius. We owe even the survival of the text itself to a stroke of luck, to the fact that, in March 1488, it was published as an appendix to János Thuróczy's Chronicle, printed in Brno, and this saved the text from being irretrievably lost, but we know very little about the conditions of its publication and, for this reason, much about the publication of Rogerius's text is not quite clear to us even today. There is no satisfactory answer to the question, how, under what circumstances the press in Brno managed to obtain the text which seems to have been lost during the previous 250 years, how it was found or where it came from, and no more is known, either, of the text itself on which the edition was based. We must admit that, at least for the time being, we cannot expect to find satisfactory answers to these questions. All we can do is to follow a hypothetical train of thought in search of a solution to this intriguing problem.¹ However, it did not always seem so hopeless to solve

¹ In Vince Bunyitay's opinion the codex containing the manuscript version of Rogerius's text was in the possession of the Catholic Church and kept in Nagyvárád, and the bishop of Várád, who was of Moravian origin, born in Brno and was also the founder of the printing press in Brno, may have given the *Carmen Miserabile*, without the author's permission or even without his knowledge, to the press to attach it to Thuróczy's Chronicle as an appendix. V. Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története*. 3 vols. Nagyvárád 1883–1884. Vol. 1, *A váradi püspökök a püspökség alapításától az 1566. évig* [A history of the Diocese of Várád. Vol. I. The bishops of Várád from the foundation of the Diocese to the end of 1566]. This opinion was taken up again by József Fitz, who stated categorically that the bishop of Várád added Rogerius's work to the Chronicle without asking for the author's permission. (F. József, *A magyar nyomdászat, a könyvkiadás és a könyvkereskedelem története*. [A history of printing, publishing and the book trade in Hungary.

the problem of the transmission of the text of the *Carmen Miserabile*, as we feel it to be today, because earlier the possibility of the existence of a manuscript had been suggested from time to time, by various scholars. As all these suggestions proved to be unfounded, László Juhász, in his preface to the critical edition of the *Carmen Miserabile*,² which has been the hitherto most detailed and exhaustive examination of the problem, stated quite clearly, as a fact, that there was no manuscript at all. He had good reason for his doubts, because none of the authors of these suggestions could actually find a manuscript. In his above-mentioned preface he referred to two cases in point. He chose his first example, Bongarsius, from a long past age. Bongarsius stated in his edition of 1600, published in Frankfurt, that the edition was based, on the one hand, on the printed text of the Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle, and, on the other, on a manuscript of the work, owned by the publisher.³ Having compared the various texts, László Juhász came to the conclusion that the Frankfurt edition was only a version of the Augsburg edition, "revised" by Bongarsius, because the differences between the two texts led him to infer the existence of a manuscript (for the Frankfurt edition) that was more closely connected with the Augsburg edition than with the original edition printed in Brno, therefore in his opinion the manuscript used by Bongarsius could not have been any other than a copy of the Augsburg edition.⁴ But he did

Vol. 1, Budapest 1959, 149–150; *Idem*, *A magyar könyv története 1711-ig*. [A history of the Hungarian book to 1711]. Budapest 1959, 61–69.) Elemér Mályusz did not accept the suggestion that the manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile* may have survived in Várad for 250 years quite unknown to the world. E. Mályusz, *A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai*. [The Chronicle of Thuróczy and its sources] Budapest 1967, 157, n. 45. In another work – adopting another approach to the problem, and taking the age of Rogerius as his starting point, and not that of Thuróczy, when the text came to light again, – he came to the conclusion that a copy of the *Carmen Miserabile* had found its way to the royal court of Hungary, in the middle of the thirteenth century. E. Mályusz, *Az V. István-kori gesta*. [The Gesta written under István V]. Budapest 1971, 14–15, 58.

² *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. ed. E. Szentpétery, 2 vols. Budapestini 1937–1938. (henceforth: SRH) 2: 543–588.

³ *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii historici et geographici*. ed. I. Bongarsius, Francofurti 1600, 6a. Actually it was not only in connection with Rogerius that Bongarsius referred to a manuscript, because he listed the contents of the entire volume, and mentioned Thuróczy and Küküllei, too, by name, and then he made the following remark: "*Hos edimus ex manuscripto nostro, et veteri editione Augustana, quae prodit Anno 1483.*" This remark leads us to the conclusion that the manuscript accessible to Bongarsius was not a manuscript of a separate work, containing only Rogerius's *Carmen Miserabile*, but had to be in some way connected with Thuróczy's Chronicle. This is worth mentioning, because the critical edition of Rogerius's work did not refer to this possibility.

⁴ SRH 2: 549, "*quia autem textu collato apparuit editionem F [i.e. the Frankfurt edition – T. A.] non esse aliam, ac editionem A [the Augsburg edition – T. A.] a Bongarsio correctam, et quia differentia quae inter editiones A et F est, non e manu scripto editioni B [the Brno edition – T. A.] sed editioni A propinquo exstare potuit – editor enim editionis B codice usus est et editio A sola editione B multis locis correctis nititur, – manu scriptum a Bongarsio usitatum aliud esse not potuit, ac descriptio editionis A*".

not altogether reject another idea, either, namely that no manuscript was actually available to Bongarsius, and his aim in mentioning a manuscript was to augment the prestige of his edition, and to legitimate his corrections which – seemingly based on a manuscript – could more easily be accepted and seem obvious and correct.⁵ The second example mentioned by László Juhász in his preface to the critical edition of the *Carmen Miserabile* was Henrik Marczali, who claimed to have found, in a monastery in Ghent, the traces of a codex, which was mentioned in the records, but when he tried to find the book itself it could not be found where it should have been.⁶ In the end of his investigations, László Juhász came to the conclusion that it was unlikely that a manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile* should have survived from the period falling between the writing of the original manuscript in the thirteenth century and the printing of the text in 1488, and it was not to be expected that the original manuscript or a version closely related to it or the manuscript serving for the basis of the Brno edition of 1488 may turn up.⁷

Besides the above examples, we can find in the literature of the subject another suggestion, too, according to which it was Italy where the manuscript of Rogerius's work was preserved. In Vol. 2 of the history of the Benedictines of Pannonhalma, Irén Zoltvány and Rudolf Gyulai, who surveyed the European collections where important *hungarica* materials are kept, implied that Italy should be considered concerning Rogerius.⁸ Their opinion passed unnoticed in Hungary. In this paper my aim is to examine, whether the above-mentioned suppositions concerning the survival of a manuscript or manuscripts of Rogerius's work in Italy have any foundation in facts, or if they have not, what lead the authors to accept it, and what may have caused the misunderstandings or errors.

Up to now, we made a survey of the problems encountered in the course of our investigations of how the text of the *Carmen Miserabile* came down to us. We can distinguish three groups of problems, and will try to give a satisfactory answer to each. Of the three problems that of the Italian manuscript mentioned in the history of the Benedictine order has proved to be the most thorny one, and we must admit, that it could not be solved to our satisfaction. The reason why it is difficult to find the answer to this particular problem is that the assumed place of provenance was not specified by the authors⁹ and they did not cite the source on

⁵ SRH 2: 549, n. 3, "*Fieri potest, ut Bongarsius re vera manuscriptum non habens ideo scripserit se codice usum esse, ut editio melior haberetur et correctiones suas, quasi e manu scripto promptas, legitimas iustasque ostenderet demonstraretque*".

⁶ SRH 2: 547, n. 1, "*Vestigium cuiusdam codicis Marczali (Enchiridion, 151.) in monasterio civitatis Gent invenit, codicem autem ipsum ibidem frustra quaestivit ...*".

⁷ SRH 2: 547, n. 2, "*Inter opus manu scriptum Rogerii vel ei propius accedens et codicem fundamento editioni primae (B) positum alios codices exstitisse non credimus*".

⁸ *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története* [The History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma]. Vol. 2, Budapest 1903, 208.

⁹ We cannot dismiss the possibility, either, that this statement did not originate with Gyulai and Zoltvány, because, at the beginning of the chapter mentioned above (207,

which their opinion about the existence of a Rogerius manuscript kept in Italy was based. They prepared a bibliography of the sources of Hungarian history for the history of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, but they cited only one secondary source for their work, János Pauer's monograph, *Az egyházi rend érdeme Magyarország történetében* (The credit due to the clergy, the first Estate of the Realm, for their contribution to Hungarian history).¹⁰ It cannot be conclusively decided, either, whether the authors based their statements about the historical sources – and about the *Carmen Miserabile*, among others – on Pauer's monograph alone, or they used other works, too, which they did not mention in their bibliography. As to Pauer, he mentions the *Carmen Miserabile* twice. The first relevant mention is the following: "... It was Italy that first brought to light the Attila of Kalan and Roger's history about the devastation of Hungary by the Tartars ...", then, after a few pages, we can find the name of Rogerius mentioned a second time: "Rogerius's work was published in 1483, and there were other editions, too, later on."¹¹ However, it is still impossible to decide, whether Zoltvány and Gyulai's opinion in the history of the Benedictine order about the Italian edition of Rogerius can be traced back directly to the above-cited text or not. The fact that Pauer – unlike the History of the Benedictine Order – mentions not a manuscript, but a printed edition seems to contradict the direct connection between the two. Still, Zoltvány and Gyulai may have supposed that this "first, Italian edition of 1483" was based on a manuscript which survived in an Italian ecclesiastical library.

The problem in its wider context, that an Italian edition of a Hungarian chronicle was printed in the 1480s, has connections with Thuróczy's Chronicle, too. Hungarian bibliographers and historians held for a long time the opinion that an edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle had been published in Venice, before 1488. The fact that this edition existed was accepted by several Hungarian and foreign scholars, but they could not agree about the exact date of publication. Ferenc Toldy, a Hungarian literary scholar was the first who tried to solve the complex and tangled problem of the Venetian edition.¹² In the end, he came to the conclusion that Thuróczy's Chronicle had in fact an edition published without date, but this came out before 1485. Anyway, this shows, that the Venice edition had a long-established tradition in Hungarian scholarship. Despite the fact that

note 1) we are told that some parts of the volume were written by the editor of this volume, Pongrácz Sörös.

¹⁰ J. Pauer, *Az egyházi rend érdeme Magyarország történetében Az Árpádok időszakától korunkig*. [The credit due to the clergy, the first Estate of the Realm, for their contribution to Hungarian history. From the age of the Árpád Dynasty to the present]. Székesfehérvár 1947. Another edition of this work originated from 1855. On comparing the two editions, it seems that the two editions are actually the same edition: in 1855 a new title page was provided for the volumes left over from the 1847 edition, in order to sell it as a new one.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 146 and 153.

¹² F. Toldy, „Turóczy krónikája' különféle kiadásai,” [The various editions of Thuróczy's Chronicle], *Új Magyar Múzeum* 1–2 (1850–1851), 386–393.

Pauer mentioned only an edition of Rogerius's work, and did not say anything about Thuróczy, we cannot entirely discard the idea that he also belonged to the group attached to this chronicle tradition, because he gave 1483 as the date of the first edition of Rogerius's work.¹³ It is only a suggestion, too, that Irén Zoltvány and Rudolf Gyulai may also have taken as their starting point some element of the rich tradition surrounding the "Venetian" edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle – perhaps in addition to Pauer's work or to other unknown sources. It must be admitted, however, that this suggestion is based on rather shaky foundations, as the tradition mentioned Thuróczy's work alone, on each occasion, without referring to Rogerius, and was quite clear about the fact that this was a printed edition and not a manuscript. The authors of the History of the Benedictine Order may have thought that when the first, "Venetian" edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle was printed, someone appended Rogerius's *Carmen Miserabile* to it, and the manuscript remained somewhere in an Italian collection, survived there, and could still be found. All this of course is mere guesswork, but no more could be found out about the background of the recurring statements concerning the Italian edition of Rogerius's work, or about their eventual "firm" basis. On the other hand, it is well known that modern historical research refused to accept the opinion that a pre-1485 printed edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle should be regarded as the first edition,¹⁴ therefore if the above-cited statements made by the authors of the History of the Benedictine Order in Hungary were in fact influenced by this tradition, then the foundations on which they based their theses could be considered as refuted, and with good reason. On the other hand, if our exploration of the

¹³ Though Toldy did not mention the year when the edition of Venice was supposed to be published, Pauer's opinion referring to 1483 as the appropriate date was supported by other statements and data, these can be found in the professional literature of his day. It was Bongarsius whose work mentioned the date 1483 in connection with the Augsburg edition. (See above, Note 3). As Toldy, in his above-mentioned article, made it clear that the printer of the Augsburg edition of 1488 was Ratdolt, who had worked in Venice between 1477 and 1487, Pauer may have concluded from this chronological succession that Italy had been the place of the first edition. Apart from this, another mention of a Hungarian chronicle published in Venice in 1483 can be found later, quite independently of the other opinions. It was Miklós Vértessy, who disclosed that the following entry could be found, (under signature J2 of the Manuscript Department), in the catalogue of the University Library [of Budapest], (the listing of the manuscripts began in 1690): "*Hungarorum Cronica. Typo Veteri. Venetiis 1483*". Of course, we cannot tell, which chronicle was described by this entry, we cannot even be sure, whether such a chronicle existed at all. Thuróczy's Chronicle, however – as Vértessy found out – can also be found in this catalogue, but it is under the letter T. M. Vértessy, "Egy 1483-ban kiadott magyar krónika," [A Hungarian chronicle published in 1483] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 80 (1964), 74.

¹⁴ The convincing arguments against this opinion came from Elemér Varjú and have continued to be accepted ever since, as still valid. E. Varjú, "A Thuróczy-krónika kiadásai és a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárában őrzött példányai," [The successive editions of Thuróczy's Chronicle and the copies kept in the Library of the Hungarian National Museum] *Magyar Könyvszemle* n.s. 10 (1902), 362–402.

background of their opinions was based on a mistaken view or a misinterpretation of their conception, then we should come to the conclusion that they strayed too far away from solid facts, and they either failed to present their views clearly, or did not cite their sources at all. Therefore we have to declare that the statements by the authors of the History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma concerning the Rogerius "manuscript" are either mistaken, or cannot be adequately confirmed by facts.

Let us turn to our second problem. Is it true that Bongarsius had a manuscript in his possession, or did the erudite author only want to make others believe that he had used a manuscript for his editorial work, because he wanted to raise the prestige of his edition? Luckily this question can be answered to our satisfaction and we are glad to be able to acquit Bongarsius of the insinuations against him and give him his due: he did have a manuscript to start from. Hungarian scholarly sources around the turn of the century mentioned on several occasions that in Bongarsius's library, in Berne, there was a codex originating from the end of the fifteenth century, it was a copy of the Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle. This fact has a particular interest for us, because this book was shown at the exhibition organised by the Municipal Library of Berne in Budapest, in 1882, and could be seen and examined by Hungarian scholars in Hungary. The guide to the exhibition included a description of the book under item 119 followed by the note: "This is the copy used by Bongarsius for his edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle."¹⁵ József Kaszák, in his treatise on Thuróczy's life and work also mentioned this copy, kept in Berne, and he also made a reference to the guide compiled for the book exhibition organised in Budapest.¹⁶ He completed the information published in the exhibition catalogue by adding that "[in his opinion] the manuscript was a copy of the incomplete Augsburg edition." This codex was mentioned next by Gyula Gábor, who had the opportunity to examine the codex in Berne, together with the abridged edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle printed in Augsburg, which had been in Bongarsius's possession.¹⁷ An examination of these books led him to make rather startling remark that Bongarsius's edition was based not on the manuscript, but on the printed edition issued in Augsburg. For this reason, his short communication gave particular attention to the incunabula. He also remarked that in his opinion the press marks to be found in the volume referred to two different editions. In Bongarsius's copy of the Augsburg edition which served as the composer's guide when preparing the text, because there was no manuscript, two sets of proofmarks could be distinguished – one set originated from Bongarsius, and was made for the Frankfurt edition of 1600, but another set of proofmarks could be seen in it, too, which – in Gábor's

¹⁵ *Könyvkiállítási emlék* [Souvenir of a book exposition] The 2. augm. edition of the Guide to the Book Exhibition, Budapest 1992, 38–39.

¹⁶ J. Kaszák, *Thuróczy János élete és krónikája*. [János Thuróczy's life and his Chronicle.] Budapest 1906, 22.

¹⁷ Gy. Gábor, "Egy ismeretlen Thuróczy-kiadás (?)," [An unknown edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle (?)] *Magyar Könyvszemle* n.s. 20 (1912), 302–308.

opinion – belonged to an unknown edition from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. To the best of our knowledge, this intriguing and puzzling communication found no response whatsoever in the Hungarian world of learning. It has not been refuted nor confirmed by those who should have an opinion about it. It must be admitted, however, that no such edition is known to us. Gábor mentioned the manuscript discussed in this paper, too, and in his opinion it was a copy of the abbreviated Augsburg edition, made in the late fifteenth century. He also gave its signature: Ms. 279.¹⁸ When all is said and done, we can come to the conclusion that László Juhász's opinion, based on the comparison between the Augsburg and Frankfurt editions of Thuróczy's Chronicle, and leading him to suppose that, even if Bongarsius had a manuscript text, it must have been a copy of the printed text of the Augsburg edition, proved to be true. The manuscript exists, that is beyond question by now, but it is the full text of János Thuróczy's Chronicle as published in the Augsburg edition, and it is only a spin-off of the printed text, which may have its uses, but is certainly not the independent manuscript version of Rogerius's original work, Rogerius scholars has been hoping to find.

And now let us take a closer look at our third problem. The inquiry after the Rogerius manuscript in Ghent, the existence of which had been discovered by Henrik Marczali, but its whereabouts remained to be detected, raised more problems than the two other lines of investigation. Marczali's communication of 1901 was extremely laconic: "The manuscript [of Rogerius's work, the *Carmen Miserabile* – T. A.] has not survived; the only copy known to scholars was in Ghent, in Belgium, but it has been lost from the library of the cathedral chapter of Ghent by now".¹⁹ Unfortunately, Marczali failed to indicate the secondary sources of this piece of information, the references to scholars who "were aware of the existence" of this codex were lacking. It seems that Marczali was the only Hungarian scholar who mentioned the name of Ghent in connection with the manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile*. It is not clear, how he managed to find out that a Rogerius manuscript was kept in the library of the cathedral chapter in Ghent, we can only make guesses. Lothar von Heinemann published the *Carmen Miserabile* by Rogerius in 1892, in a volume of the series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.²⁰ It seems that Hungarian scholars did not pay much attention to this edition, because no reference or mention was made by them to this work. The literature listed in the much-cited (Hungarian) critical edition did not contain any mention of it, either, when giving an overview of the previous editions. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*'s introduction to Rogerius's text states that the only surviving manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile* was kept in the library of the cathedral chapter of Ghent. The editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 303.

¹⁹ M. Henrik, *A magyar történet kútforrásainak kézikönyve*. [A handbook of the sources of Hungarian history] Budapest 1901, 151.

²⁰ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH). *Scriptores XXIX*. Hannover 1892, 547–567.

would have liked to examine the manuscript, when they prepared the critical edition of the text, but unfortunately it was impossible for them, because Henri Pirenne, the famous Belgian historian who had been requested to study the text, could not find it in the library. We do not know it for certain, but it is quite probable that Henrik Marczali, as the only Hungarian scholar whose attention was attracted by the statement published in the prestigious German series, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, began to search on his own for the codex in Ghent, but he also failed to find it. But we must admit that we also have doubts because, when we tried to reconstruct Marczali's starting point, we realised that the German text edition was disclosing more information than we have cited above, was more informative, and the information was of a kind, which may have influenced Marczali's decision. The editor of the MGH added to the mention of the Codex in Ghent – as a source containing the only manuscript of the text of the *Carmen Miserabile* known to us today – the following note: "*Auct. Ant. V. p.*" LXIX. *ut in editione principe Iohannis de Thuróczy Chronica Hungarorum in hoc codice carmini prae-cedit.*"²¹ This statement is clear enough for us to understand that the codex in Ghent does not contain an independent text we are looking for, but a text dependent on another, the text published as the appendix to Thuróczy's Chronicle. German historians may not have stated it quite clearly, but Marczali must have been aware of the fact that the connection between the two texts could no longer be regarded as accidental, because the two editions where these texts were connected to each other were quite independent of each other, and the connection between the texts continued even in a new medium, and was transposed from manuscript to printed text or rather the other way round. There must have been a reason for this, and it may have had something to do with the lack of an original Rogerius manuscript. In the *Enchiridion* Marczali does not seem to be aware of the connection between Rogerius's text kept in Ghent and Thuróczy's Chronicle. Still, whether we were right or not in our findings when we tried to follow Marczali's statement about the Rogerius manuscript back to its sources, in the literature of the subject, the manuscript in Ghent is worth studying anyway, because it may help us to find more information about this interesting problem than the few facts recorded in the *Enchiridion*.

The above-cited note appended to the preface in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* referred to Vol. 5 of a subseries of the famous source edition, *Auctores Antiquissimi*. Theodor Mommsen published his edition of the *Getica* by Iordanes in this series, in 1882.²² In the preface to his edition Mommsen listed one by one the codices containing texts by Jordanes, among others a codex printed in the fifteenth century and kept in Ghent. This codex in Ghent was examined for Mommsen, at his request, by another German historian, Ludwig Bethmann. Luckily for us, in addition to his remarks concerning Jordanes, Mommsen listed the full contents of the volume, and that is why he came to mention, among others,

²¹ *Ibid.* 548, n. 7.

²² MGH *Auctores Antiquissimi* V. I. *Iordanis Romana et Getica*. Hg. Th. Mommsen, Berolini 1882 (Nd. München 1982.) lxxix.

Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* and Rogerius's *Carmen Miserabile* about the devastation of Hungary by the Tartars.²³ The first possessor of the codex was Raphael de Marcatellis, a famous book collector. Several volumes of his collection are still extant and known to us, though they are scattered in various library collections all over Europe. The codex containing Thuróczy's Chronicle and the *Carmen Miserabile* remained in Ghent. It was also mentioned by Antoine Sanders, another famous Belgian book collector, in his catalogue, published in 1641, this is the earliest published catalogue of the manuscript collections in Belgium. The catalogue contains the description of two collections from Ghent: that of the cathedral and of a Benedictine monastery. The list of manuscripts of the cathedral consists of 33 items, and the seventeenth item is recorded as *Chronica Hungarorum*,²⁴ which is likely to refer to the above-mentioned codex. Mommsen published the *Getica* of Jordanes in 1882, and while the edition was being prepared, Bethmann had the occasion to examine at first hand the codex in Ghent. In the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* the preface to Rogerius is dated to 1888, this is the date we can see at the end. At this time or perhaps somewhat earlier Henri Pirenne was no longer able to find this volume in Ghent, nor could Marczali find it between 1892 (the date of publication of Vol. XXIX of the MGH) and 1901 (the date of publication of the *Enchiridion*). We do not know what happened to the manuscript during that time, where it had been and when and why it surfaced again. Because it turned up again and can be found. Professor Albert Delorez discussed the subject of Raphael de Marcatellis's book collection in a monograph, in 1979,²⁵ and it is quite clear from what he writes that the codex we have been looking for can be found in the library of the Cathedral at present, under signature Ms. 15.²⁶ According to Delorez's opinion, the manuscript is a copy of the Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's (printed) Chronicle. The microfilm copy accessible to us in the University Library of Szeged gave us an opportunity to examine the manuscript, and we agree with him. Besides the introduction about Abbot Raphael, his life and book collection shows us quite clearly that the abbot was one of those wealthy book

²³ *Ibid.* "Gandavensis capituli membranaceus fol. Saec. XV. exeuntis, cui in fine adscripsit idem librarius haec: "hoc volumen comparavit Rapahel de Marcatellis dei gratia episcopus Rosensis abbas S. Bavonis iuxta Gandavum a.d. 1492; continet historiam naturalem animalium con figuris, Iordanis Getica, Iohannis de Thurocz chronicon Hungariae, Rogeri carmen de destructione Hungariae, Aeneae Silvii historiam Bohemicam ..." Incidentally, Mommsen did not use the text of the codex of Ghent for his edition of Jordanes, because he found it to be "inutilis".

²⁴ *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta. Coll. et ed. Sanderus, Antonius.* Insulis (Lille) Anno MDCXLI. [Bruxelles 1972] 335-336. Libri manuscripti in ecclesia cathedrali S.Bavonis Gandavensis.

²⁵ A. Delorez, *The library of Raphael de Marcatellis Abbot of St Bavon's, Ghent 1437-1508.* Gent 1979. Item 29. Ms. 15. A., Bestiary, Orientalia, pp. 168-180; B., The second section ... Jordanes, *De origine actibusque getarum* ... (Ms. 15/2), Johhanes de Thwroc, *Chronica Hungarorum* ... (p.174.) (Ms. 15/3.). Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica* ... (Ms. 15/4.).

²⁶ A microfilm copy can be found in the Central Library of the University of Szeged.

collectors and bibliophiles who would not content with printed books, because they found them too modest and plain to look at, and for this reason they had special – often hand-written – copies made, to decorate them with miniatures and rich bindings, and they put in their collection these more ornate copies. Raphael de Marcatellis's collection contains several of these copies made of printed books. Thus we conclude that no Rogerius text independent of Thuróczy's Chronicle can be found in Ghent, either.²⁷

At the end of our investigation we are led to the conclusion that no pre-1488 manuscript of the *Carmen Miserabile* is known to us. The opinions which seemed to support the existence of these early manuscripts proved to be based on misunderstandings or errors. By now it is quite clear that two manuscript versions are still extant, yet these manuscripts are not independent copies of Rogerius's work, but are copies based on a printed text, the Augsburg edition of Thuróczy's Chronicle, which means that they cannot tell us anything new concerning the text and its transmission. László Juhász's opinion and findings concerning Rogerius's text are still valid on all essential points. However, when all is said and done, we still feel that the above investigation was by no means useless, because it helped us to shed light on matters which had not been suitably settled before, as they were sometimes based on muddled, contradictory, unfounded or seemingly groundless statements. We managed to clear up most of the muddle. It is true that we still have not found any original manuscript text of the *Carmen Miserabile*. But by now we have two printed texts of both the Thuróczy Chronicle and the *Carmen Miserabile*, and we have renewed our acquaintance with facts which were slowly falling into oblivion, e.g. the existence of the Codices of Berne and Ghent. The two codices might have little value from the point of view of the transmission of such texts as those of the *Carmen Miserabile* and of Thuróczy's Chronicle, but they are shedding valuable light on the later life of the two texts connected to each other by their long-standing coexistence within the same volume through the ages.

²⁷ I wish to express my thanks to (the late) Béla Karácsonyi, Terézia Olajos and Samu Szádecky-Kardoss, for their valuable and generous help in tracking down the Ghent codex.

"Keeping hope on a low flame"

Anti-Jewish decrees in Hungary
in the wake of the German occupation

JUDIT MOLNÁR



"19 March. Very exciting day. ... our German brothers are allegedly coming. ... There was something in the air. People were sent home from the movies, but the soccer game went on." With these the words, written in the Hungarian city Szeged, Lieutenant General Kálmán Shvoy commented in his diary on the German occupation of his country.¹

It was only on 23 March that the daily newspapers reported that the Germans had occupied Hungary on 19 March and that Regent Miklós Horthy had asked former ambassador to Berlin Döme Sztójay to form a cabinet on 22 March.²

Simultaneously with Wehrmacht units, two representatives of the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt* – the SS Security Main Office), namely Hermann Krumey and Dieter von Wisliceny came to Budapest. A few days later, the chief of Department IV. B/4, *Obersturmbannführer* Adolf Eichmann, also arrived in Hungary to have the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" put into effect. During the first days of the occupation, the chief of RSHA, Ernst Kaltenbrunner himself visited the Hungarian capital, and talked with presumptive Prime Minister

¹ *Shvoy Kálmán titkos naplója és emlékirata, 1918–1945* [Kálmán Shvoy's secret diary and memoirs, 1918–1945]. ed. M. Perneki. Budapest, 1983, 275–276. According to Shvoy's diary and contemporary newspapers, the German occupation took the population of Hungary by surprise. The Premier League soccer match started at 3 p.m. in the Vasutas [Railway] stadium in Szeged. The local "Tisza" was playing "a match of life and death" against the team of Kolozsvár, one of the best in the league. (*Szegedi Friss Újság*, 19 March 1944, 4.) The result was Kolozsvár 1, Tisza 0 (*Szegedi Friss Újság*, 21 March 1944, 5.).

² *Vádirat a náciizmus ellen. Dokumentumok a magyarországi zsidóüldözés történetéhez*. Vol. 1, [Indicting Nazism. Documents on the history of the persecution of Jews in Hungary] (henceforth: *Vádirat 1*). ed. I. Benoschofsky, E. Karsai, Budapest 1958, 36–38. For the occupation of Hungary, see: Gy. Juhász, *Magyarország külpolitikája 1919–1945* [The foreign politics of Hungary 1919–1945]. Third, rev. ed., Budapest 1988, 387–412.

Sztójay regarding the details of the radical solution of the Jewish question. On 22 March, Sztójay, referring to his talks with Ernst Kaltenbrunner, "informed the first session of the council of ministers regarding the problems to be solved in connection with the Jewish question," Minister of the Interior Andor Jaross stated during his post-war trial before the people's court.³

It was this discussion that Béla Imrédy, extreme right-wing politician and minister without portfolio was referring to when he said at a cabinet meeting a few months later: "[t]he resettling and transportation of the Jews is in progress on the basis of an oral agreement with the Germans, but there are no documents on the subject."⁴

The second meeting of the cabinet following the German occupation (29 March 1944) was already discussing the "Jewish decrees" by the dozen. Although Minister of Justice István Antal observed that government decrees needed the approval of Regent Horthy, Prime Minister Sztójay put him at ease saying: "His High Excellency the Regent gave the government under his leadership free hand with regard to all the Jewish decrees, and does not wish to influence the [ministers] in that respect."⁵

The first government decree, on the obligation of Jewish telephone subscribers to supply data on themselves, was issued on March 29.⁶ It was followed, on March 31, by a whole series of other discriminatory decrees, which forbade the employment of non-Jews in Jewish households and terminated the public service of Jews as well as their acting as attorneys. The decrees also cancelled the membership of Jews in the chambers of press, theater, and film; they ordered the registration of motor vehicles owned by Jews and, most importantly, they ordered that Jews wear the yellow Star of David.⁷

³ *Az Endre-Baky-Jaross per* [The Endre-Baky-Jaross Trial] (henceforth: EBJ), ed. L. Karsai, J. Molnár Budapest 1994, 196. For Kaltenbrunner's visit to Hungary, see also the testimonies of István Bárcziházi Bárczy and Edmund Veesenmayer, 21 December 1945. (EBJ, 179–180, 196–197). According to an interview with Alfred Tanker (commander of the German security police, SD, in Budapest in 1944) by Péter Bokor, the first visitors in Hungary besides Kaltenbrunner included SS *Reichsführer* and Minister of the Interior Heinrich Himmler Minister of the Interior, who spent nearly two days in Budapest in strict incognito. (P. Bokor, *Végjáték a Duna mentén. Interjúk egy filmsorozathoz* [End-game along the Danube. Interviews for a film series], Budapest 1982, 83–97. This is corroborated by the report of MTI, the Hungarian News Agency on 23 March 1944: "Himmler spent a few days in Budapest" (*Vádirat* 1, 41.).

⁴ Magyar Országos Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary] (henceforth: OL), K 27, minutes of cabinet meetings, 21 June 1944.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 March 1944. See also: *Vádirat* 1, 50–51.

⁶ *Vádirat* 1, 58–59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 53–54, 56–57, 66–69, 73–74, 78–79. Local right-wing newspapers, of course, carried these decrees on the first page. *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* continued to print the sections deemed important of the decrees published in *Budapesti Közlöny*, as did, though somewhat more briefly, *Szegedi Friss Újság*.

Even the last major anti-Jewish Law passed by parliament in 1939 did not go so far in depriving Jews of civic rights. In fact, the new decrees were unconstitutional because they amended, by decree, an act of parliament, that of §141 of Act II/1939, without even mentioning that act.⁸ Nevertheless, the majority of local organs of administration and public security accepted as legitimate the government's decrees. Specialists within the local authorities executed the decrees without a hitch; even such decrees that were marked "*res*", which meant that they were confidential, were never published, and did not refer to any existing law. The decrees concerned, among other things, the census of Jews, and the setting up of collection camps for Jews in *Kárpátalja* (North-east Hungary), *Észak-Erdély* (Northern Transylvania) and *Délvidék* (Southern Hungary). Eichmann's detachment of two or three hundred needed all the help and support as well as the active participation of the Hungarian administration, police and gendarmerie to be able to execute the operation of "dejudeization".

Eichmann was satisfied with Regent Horthy's appointment of retired Gendarmerie Major, National Socialist Member of Parliament, and confidential agent of the Germans László Baký as under-secretary of the interior on 24 March. Put in charge of the police and the gendarmerie, Baký supervised and directly controlled Departments VI of police, VIII of police penal, XVIII of national mobilization, and XX of gendarmerie affairs.⁹ It was with even greater satisfaction that Eichmann received the appointment, effective 8 April, of László Endre, deputy-prefect [*alispán*] of county Pest¹⁰ and a notorious anti-Semite, as under-secretary of the interior under Minister of Interior Andor Jaross. The latter arranged the division of responsibilities so that "László Endre was put in charge of the departments of administration, that is, the departments of counties and municipalities, and the so-called department of housing. These dealt with several aspects of the Jewish question."¹¹ Thus, the units (approximately 20,000 men) of the ten gendar-

⁸ §141. Act II/1931 (on defense) invested the government with exceptional powers, with the responsibility of all its members, "in time of war or in case of the danger of war". *Magyar Törvénytár*. Budapest 1939, 6–128.

⁹ For Baký's appointment, see: *Vádirat* 1, 43. For a list of the departments of the Ministry of the Interior under his supervision and control, see: *Magyarország tiszti cím- és névtára* [Catalogue and directory of officers in Hungary] Budapest 1944, Supplement, 17.

¹⁰ For the appointment of László Endre, see: *Vádirat* 1, 169. Deputy mayor Béla Tóth of Szeged did not forget, on 11 April, to express "his most sincere congratulations" "on behalf of the public and the magistrates of the greatest provincial town in Hungary" to László Endre on his appointment as under-secretary of the Interior. He went on to beg that he "receive this through and through Hungarian town, which had sheltered the cradle of Hungarian renewal, into his benevolence." Csongrád Megyei Levéltár [Csongrád County Archives] (henceforth: CSML), papers of the mayor of Szeged 4681/1944. Among the papers we have found no trace of other, newly appointed members of the cabinet receiving similar letters of congratulation from the leaders of Szeged.

¹¹ The responsibilities of under-secretary László Endre are listed in: EBJ, 140. The departments listed by Jaross were Departments III, IV, and XXI. of the Ministry of Interior. In addition, Endre also supervised the so-called Committee for Rationalizing the Admini-

merie-districts,¹² and the officials of 44 counties, as well as the police force of the towns of Hungary were all placed at the disposal of the anti-Jewish operation. The local administration carried out the "Jewish decrees" down to the last dot.

It is crucially important from the point of view of the "Final Solution" that the administrative system in Hungary after 19 March 1944 remained the same as the one restored on 7 August 1919 on the basis of the laws on administration adopted back in 1887. Although several attempts were made to reform the administration, especially following the revolutions in 1918–1919, no real reorganization took place. Law XXX/1929 "On the organization of public administration", coming into effect on 29 June of that year,¹³ although reflecting the effort of the government to centralize and to professionalize the system, did not basically diminish the jurisdictional power of local autonomies. Counties and towns with full municipal rights [*törvényhatósági jogú városok*] were formally headed by prefects [*főispán*], nominated by the minister of the interior and appointed by the regent, and their powers of supervision and control covered all local administrative organs. However, real control over the everyday life of the counties was in the hands of the deputy-prefects elected by the municipal assemblies. In the subordinate districts [*járás*] control was in the hands of chief constables [*főszolgabíró*], who received their orders from the sub-prefect. The gradual narrowing of municipal jurisdiction was completed by Law XXII/1942,¹⁴ which empowered the minister of the interior to fill previously elective offices by appointment. Indeed, according to §8 Section(1), although the above offices should "usually be filled through national competition," the "competition can be waived if the authority entitled to fill the post deems it unnecessary *in the interest of the public service* [my emphasis – J. M.], or if the interests of public service require the urgent filling of that post." The massive removals and/or transfers of public servants after 19 March 1944 were carried out with reference to this Law.

The leaders of local administrations relied on the police force in towns, and on the gendarmerie in rural areas. The organization of the gendarmerie did not conform to county boundaries, but followed the lines of the military system. In other words, it was modelled after the military districts. Thus, the area of the V. (Szeged) Gendarmerie District covered, partially or fully, the counties of Csongrád, Bács-Bodrog, Csanád–Arad–Torontál, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, Békés.

stration. See: *Magyarország tiszti cím és névtára* [Catalogue and directory of officers in Hungary] Budapest 1944, Supplement, 17.

¹² Lt.-General Gábor Faragho, Superintendent of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie said on the cabinet meeting of 21 June 1944, "Considering that we have deported more than 400,000 Jews for military labour service and resettlement, it should be counted as zero if complaints have been registered against a few of the 20,000 Hungarian gendarmes." EJB, 618.

¹³ For the text of Act XXX/1929, see *Magyar Törvénytár*, 1929, Budapest 1930, 333–407.

¹⁴ For the text of Act XXII/1942, see *Magyar Törvénytár*, 1942, Budapest 1943, 171–177.

Unlike the police, which was controlled by the ministry of the interior, the gendarmerie was under the dual supervision of the ministry of the interior and the ministry of defense. It functioned as an organization for law and order structured along military lines. The men and their officers received very harsh military training, which included emphasis on unconditional loyalty to the regent. As an organization of public safety, the gendarmerie was subordinated to the minister of the interior. At the same time, its highest military commander was the Superintendent of the Gendarmerie, Lt.-General Gábor Faragho, who from November 1942, was responsible for training as well as for military order and discipline. On 21 June 1944, the government accepted the plan of a decree, submitted by Minister of the Interior Jaross, according to which the police was also to be transformed into a body organized along military lines, and Lt-General Faragho was put in charge of both the gendarmerie and the police.¹⁵

After the German occupation, it took German plenipotentiary Edmund Veesenmayer, Regent Horthy, and the leaders of the right-wing parties three days to agree on the composition of the new government. The government of Döme Sztójay included, in addition to pro-German members of the old ruling party, several members of the far-right Party of Hungarian Renewal [*Magyar Megújulás Pártja*].

The semblance of legal continuity prevailed for the local administrations because Regent Horthy had remained in place. Indeed, the dismissals and appointments of ministers and under-secretaries carried his signature. Nor had the parliament been officially dissolved. Thus Horthy was playing an active role in setting up the new government at a time when the *Gestapo* was arresting members of the Hungarian parliament, including Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer, the long-time former minister of the interior, and keeping them in detention for months.

Veesenmayer more than once emphatically demanded that Sztójay dismiss all the prefects and deputy-prefects. On 10 May, he was able to report to Foreign Minister Ribbentrop that "the cleansing of the Hungarian administration in the countryside is proceeding in a satisfactory manner. So far, forty-one prefects have been dismissed and thirty-eight new prefects have been appointed."¹⁶ Since the offices of prefects were filled at the nomination of Minister of the Interior Andor Jaross, most of the new appointees were members of the Party of Hungarian Renewal. The most important criterion was political reliability. According to the documents, "cleansing" in the jurisdiction of the V. (Szeged) Gendarmerie District included the chief constables at the head of the districts as well as the prefects, but the deputy-prefects, who actually controlled the counties, and the may-

¹⁵ OL, K 27, the minutes of cabinet meetings, June 21, 1944. For the functioning of the public administration in Szeged in detail, see: L. Földváriné Kocsis, "Közigazgatási és hatalmi szervek" [Organs of public administration and authority], in *Szeged története 1919–1944*. Vol. 4. ed. L. Serfőző, Szeged 1994, 269–308.

¹⁶ *A Wilhelmstrasse és Magyarország. Német diplomáciai iratok Magyarországról 1933–1944* [Wilhelmstrasse and Hungary. German diplomatic papers on Hungary 1933–1944]. ed. Gy. Ránki, E. Pamlényi, L. Tilkovszky, Gy. Juhász, Budapest 1968, 845.

ors of the towns were hardly touched until the end of June, following the completion of the Jewish deportations. There were two changes only: at Hódmezővásárhely, Mayor Béla Endrey, who had been appointed prefect, was replaced by Gyula Sárkány, former mayor of Cegléd on 3 June; and in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, László Endre, who was under-secretary in charge of Jewish affairs since 8 April, was replaced by the second county recorder [*másodfőjegyző*] vitéz József Sági on May 31. There were very few such administrators as József Pálffy, mayor of Szeged, who voluntarily resigned from his office following the German occupation.¹⁷ He was officially retired at the end of May only, when he turned 70, but no document after March 1944 bears his signature, deputy mayor Béla Tóth having taken over the running of the town.¹⁸

The chief constables, at the head of districts, played at least as important a role as did the mayors in the towns. Therefore, Jaross and his colleagues needed reliable chief constables for the smooth and quick "dejudeization" of the country. At the same time, according to laws concerning administrative matters, these offices had to be held by persons with adequate training and qualifications. The minister of the interior satisfied both criteria, one must admit, in a rather shrewd manner. When leafing through the pages of the spring and early summer 1944 numbers of the official gazette *Budapesti Közlöny*, it becomes clear that Interior Minister Jaross appointed the new chief constables always "in the interest of public service", that is, with reference to Act XXII/1942. However, these appointments were not promotions for district administrator [*szolgabíró*] or deputy clerk [*aljegyző*], but simply *transfers*. The principle behind it was probably that the specialists should come from as far as possible, so that previously established local, friendly connections with Jews should not survive, and nothing should cause officials to try to delay the execution of the discriminatory decrees. The administrators should be unable to help their possible Jewish friends. This assumption is supported by the fact that the same principle can be seen to have been operating on lower levels, in the appointments of district administrators, deputy clerks, and engineers. At the same time, it is surprising to see that while in Bács-Bodrog and Pest counties nearly all the chief constables were replaced, in Csongrád and Csanád-Arads-Torontál counties there were no transfers at all. Extending the research to cover the whole country will bring us closer to the resolution of this contradiction. Anyway, the leaders of the local administrations under the ministry of the interior came up to the expectations of their superiors.

¹⁷ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged, 22/1944 confidential. It is worth noting that lord lieutenant Sándor Tukats, in a letter dated 22 March, handled Pálffy's resignation as a confidential matter. So far no documents have been found in the archives that would point to other leading officials withdrawing from public affairs in the V. Gen-darmerie District.

¹⁸ Szeged did not elect a new mayor in the spring and summer of 1944. Running the office of the mayor was the responsibility, as temporary acting mayor, of deputy mayor Béla Tóth.

That sub-prefects and mayors were not removed was probably due to the fact that most of the local leaders, including the more humanely inclined, proved during the first weeks that they recognized as legitimate the new government and its decrees restricting the rights of the citizens described as Jews. The available documents indicate that most of the leading officials in the countryside, far from preparing their resignation, were ready to take on the new tasks of the new situation even to the extent of taking independent action beyond simply executing the decrees of the government. There were individuals in local administrations who anticipated the government and issued restrictive orders as well as resolutions on a local level. Among them, the discriminative decrees of László Endre were perhaps the first issued deputy-prefect of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, the largest county of Hungary, on 21 March, i.e. before Sztójay's cabinet came into office. Endre instructed the chief constables of all the districts "to contact the directorate concerned with the immediate *disconnecting* of the telephones of Jews and suspected communists, and to urge the execution of the matter."¹⁹ The government decree with a similar content, though not about disconnecting Jewish subscribers but about their *obligation to supply information*, as mentioned above, was published in *Budapesti Közlöny* on 29 March.²⁰ Incidentally, within seven to ten days, the chief constables reported the execution of Endre's order.

The so-called ghetto decree on the allotment of Jewish dwellings went into effect on 28 April.²¹ Endre said already on 21 March that "considering that Jews usually do not participate in activities of public benefit; nor do they serve in the military, and, in addition, most of the time their occupations do not link them to a permanent place, I regard the legitimate need of a Jewish family for housing as met by a single room." Therefore, in order to meet the housing needs of "our own race," primarily "apartments owned or rented by persons of the Jewish race" will have to be used.²² Referring to this decree, on 1 May, the chief constable of the Kiskőrös district reported that "the Jews in all the villages of my district have been moved into one room per family without exception, and I have distributed the apartments thus vacated among Christian families with legitimate claims."²³ The chief constable of the Kalocsa district received the reports about the execution of the above decree from all the villages in his jurisdiction between 26 March and 4 April.²⁴ The town clerk of Sükösd, interpreting the instructions rather

¹⁹ Pest Megyei Levéltár [Pest County Archives] (henceforth: PML) papers of the sub-prefect of Pest county 18.902/1944. The gendarmerie stations in *Délvidék* received orders even on the day of the occupation to prevent "anti-national elements," including Jews, from escaping. See: E. Sajti, *Délvidék 1941–1944: A magyar kormányok délszláv politikája* [Délvidék 1941–1944. The South-Slav politics of Hungarian governments] Budapest 1987, 217.

²⁰ See Note 6.

²¹ *Vádirat* 1, 244–250.

²² Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár [Bács-Kiskun County Archives] (henceforth: BKML) papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 1800/1944.

²³ PML, papers of the sub-prefect of Pest county 18.913/1944.

²⁴ See Note 22.

broadly, included the building of the Jewish congregation among the apartments to be allotted. At the same time, Dezső Horváth, the town clerk of Foktő, did not requisition any apartments because "persons of the Jewish race live, without exception, in modest apartments, mostly in one room, only a few of them in two rooms."²⁵ László Endre issued new decrees on 22 March. These instructed the chief constables within his jurisdiction "to put the procedure of internment into effect without delay against unreliable Jews and other suspected communist elements."²⁶ Under-secretary László Baký issued a confidential decree of the ministry of the interior with similar contents on 31 March.²⁷ Sub-Prefect Endre also instructed the gendarmerie headquarters through the chief constables "to carry out identity checks among passengers at railway stations and at harbours as well as to prevent individuals of the Jewish race from travelling."²⁸ The government decree on travel restrictions imposed on Jews was issued on 7 April.²⁹ A third decree by the deputy-prefect banned persons described as Jews from all holiday resorts, spas, and bathing establishments in the county.³⁰ Incidentally, Endre had been enthusiastically executing the laws against Jews during the previous years, and he had in fact issued an order similar to the latter decree in May 1944, which Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer, then minister of the interior declared unlawful and, therefore, null and void.³¹ However, Minister of the Interior Jaross went all the way in supporting László Endre and appointed him under-secretary in the last days of March 1944.

When, on 28 March 1944, the newspapers informed the public that the Jewish question is on the agenda of the cabinet,³² Deputy Police Commissioner Béla Buócz of Szeged composed his decree on "the withdrawal of wireless receivers from persons under the jurisdiction of the Jewish law." "Individuals of Jewish race" were obliged to give up their radios at the police headquarters within 48 hours following the publication of the decree. "I will initiate internment procedures" against those who fail to obey the decree.³³ The decree was published in the newspapers of Szeged on the following day,³⁴ and on 31 March, *Szegedi Új*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ PML, papers of the village of Törökbálint 2.495/1944.

²⁷ OL, K 149-BM res. – file 287 (1943-44), 5999/1944. BM. VII. res.

²⁸ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 1799/1944.

²⁹ *Vádirat* 1, 127–129.

³⁰ PML, papers of Nagymaros village 1335/1944. The decree of the Ministry of the Interior went into effect on 2 May. (*Vádirat* 1, 285–286.).

³¹ Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár – Kiskunfélegyháza [Bács-Kiskun County Archives – Kiskunfélegyháza] (henceforth: BKML-Kf) papers of the mayor of Kiskunfélegyháza 8093/1944. See also: EBJ, 483.

³² *Szegedi Friss Újság*, 28 March 1944, 2.

³³ CSML, papers of the lord lieutenant of Szeged 280/1944. László Endre's series of decrees on 22 March also included "the prohibition of the use of radio receivers of Jews and suspected communist elements" and "taking [the radios] into custody". (BKML, papers of the village of Kecel 2440/1944.)

³⁴ The 29 March 1944 numbers of *Délmagyarország*, *Szegedi Napló*, *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*.

Nemzedék wrote in a long article that "on Thursday [30 March] from early in the morning, masses were crowding the corridors of the police headquarters in the Town Hall." The author of the article found it "a strange attempt that some people practically rushed the pawnshops in Szeged and tried to circumvent the degree by pawning their radio receivers in haste." However, the "vigilance" of the officials at the pawnshops, "shipwrecked" these attempts.³⁵

Buócz probably owed his soaring career to this initiative, to his extraordinary zeal in trying to solve the Jewish question, and to his strict execution of government decrees that were to come. Two months later, he was already working in the capital as superintendent of the provincial police. Remarkably, a government decree similar in content to this provincial initiative, first appeared in the *Budapesti Közlöny* on 7 April.³⁶ That, however, was only about the obligation of Jewish radio owners to supply information on their radios. Later, on 21 April, the government, the minister of defence, and the minister of commerce and communications all issued decrees, which mentioned the requisitioning and delivery of radio receivers.³⁷ According to the information of *Szegedi Friss Újság*, 1079 radios had been delivered to the police by the end of May.³⁸

The initiative of the local authorities also attracted the attention of the ministry of the interior and, in the middle of May, Department VIIa sent a telegram to the provincial police headquarters asking for information: "Certain police headquarters either on their own initiative, or perhaps at the instruction of military authorities, had started collecting the radio receivers in the possession of Jews even before the relevant government decrees were published. It is to be reported by 22 May the latest whether the addressee has in his keeping Jewish radio receivers that the addressee had taken into custody under, and according to the procedure regulated in, other than the decrees 1310/1944 M. E. and/or 217.300/1944 K. K. M."³⁹

Directly after the German occupation, a number of gendarmerie posts in the V (Szeged) gendarmerie district sent to higher authorities reports to the effect that German soldiers were breaking into, and plundering, houses of Israelite families.⁴⁰ Although there was no open investigation in these cases, the German military headquarters were notified. The Germans replied by saying that "the case will not go unpunished; strict orders have been issued to German soldiers to refrain from taking any objects, and anyone not returning these objects to where they have been taken from, will be severely punished."

Until 16 April 1944, four daily newspapers were published in Szeged. Before they were suppressed, *Délmagyarország*, which had the largest circulation, and

³⁵ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 31 March 1944, 5.

³⁶ *Vádirat* 1, 129–132.

³⁷ *Budapesti Közlöny*, 21 April 1944. No. 89, 2.

³⁸ *Szegedi Friss Újság*, 26 May 1944, 4.

³⁹ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 2836/1944.

⁴⁰ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 2029/1944, 2140/1944.

Szegedi Napló merely printed the reports of the Hungarian News Agency without comments regarding the Jewish decrees. The above-mentioned *Szegedi Friss Újság* proved more "reliable" with its articles, and was allowed to continue. The *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* welcomed the measures of the new government with open enthusiasm. Indeed, Mihály Iván, editor of that paper wrote in a private letter to Mihály Kolosváry-Borcsa, the far-right president of the chamber of the press: "Now that the time has come for purifying the press, I would like to call your attention to the need for suppressing *Délmagyarország*, a radical Jewish newspaper in Szeged. ... It is also time perhaps to close down *Szegedi Napló*; it should not last longer than *Délmagyarország* ... because it seems quite certain that after the termination of *Délpalesztina* [i.e. *Délmagyarország*] the Jews will all swoop down on *Szegedi Napló*.⁴¹ Iván could not know that Kolosváry had already listed, on 22 March, the "extremely liberal, Jewish-minded" *Délmagyarország* and the "noxious spirited and unnecessary" *Szegedi Napló* among the seven provincial daily papers most urgently to be banned. As he wrote, "right-wing newspapers are published everywhere, so it is not necessary to replace [the banned papers]."⁴² Indeed, *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* multiplied the number of its articles on Jews even during the first days following the occupation. In the wake of the decrees, the anti-Jewish assaults in that paper became even more savage. The editorial on 1 April happily acknowledged that "the dejudeization of public life has started in Szeged also."⁴³ Although, according to the author of the editorial, the decree of the government hardly, if at all, affected the public offices in Szeged, such as the finance directorate, the regional railway management, and the post-office administration because the second Jewish Law had been executed in the state institutions with the utmost severity and circumspection." However, "several moves have to be undertaken regarding the execution of the decrees" in connection with the municipal authority. Deputy Mayor Béla Tóth did not delay in issuing his resolution based on the government decree No. 1210/1944,⁴⁴ according to which the "employees of the town coming under Law XV/1941" were immediately to report this circumstance to the presidential department.⁴⁵ In the case of persons described as Jews, procedures for retirement were immediately put into effect. That is how, for example, a professor of music⁴⁶, and a municipal assistant clerk⁴⁷ were forced into

⁴¹ Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára [Historical Archives of the State Security Services], V-99.145 people's court trial of Mihály Kolosváry-Borcsa. From mid-April, 1944 Kolosváry, as press-commissary with the rank of under-secretary of state, supervised affairs of book publication, newspaper permissions, paper supply and the press chamber.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 1 April 1944, 2.

⁴⁴ *Vádirat* 1, 66–69.

⁴⁵ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4173/1944.

⁴⁶ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4832/1944.

⁴⁷ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4831/1944. "Having returned from his deportation," the former assistant clerk petitioned, on 19 February 1945, for the annulment of his retirement and to be reinstalled in service. His request was granted by a resolution

retirement. The municipal auditing office received special instructions from the director of the auditing office of the ministry of the interior on 5 April to have its officials declare their ancestry.⁴⁸

On April 4, *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* found it "simply shocking" that so many lawyers "of the Jewish race" lived in Szeged.⁴⁹ In its session on 28 April, the Szeged Chamber of Attorneys was obliged to terminate the membership of 57 Szeged lawyers.⁵⁰

It was again the *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* that noted with great satisfaction that "the Jewish telephones in Szeged had been switched off and put out of operation one after the other," but found it difficult to understand why the list of Jewish subscribers had not been published.⁵¹

Government decree No. 1240/1944 obliged Jews to wear a distinctive sign from 5 April. On 6 April, "a Christian Hungarian" expressed his surprise in the columns of *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* that "those of weaker heart turned to our Israelites with sincere sympathy because of the wearing of the yellow star."⁵² This was an indication of the fact that there were people in Szeged who sympathised with those having to wear the star.

On 13 April, *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* discussed the Jewish question on a whole page. The pretext was that "more than four thousand Jews are wearing the yellow star in Szeged."⁵³ We are told that "the wise prescribers of the measure" did not have the yellow stars sewn on "in order to indicate who the Jews are, but in order to have their separation from Christian Hungarian society manifested in a visible form for the hopefully short time before the Jewish question is finally solved at home as well as in the other European countries."

According to the April 12 decree of the Ministry of the Interior, those who failed to wear the distinctive sign were to be interned immediately.⁵⁴ According to the report in *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* the police had carried out the first "yellow star raid" on 16 April, and the six Jews who had ignored the decree were fined from two to six thousand pengős. In the future, however, "evaders" would be interned.⁵⁵ To be sure, the Szeged police applied more lenient punishment compared to the text of the decree, which prescribed internment, but the amount of the fine certainly does not show any benevolence on the part of the authorities.

dated 17 March 1945. Simultaneously with the forced retirements, on 3 April 1944, the lord lieutenant received the first application for an appointment "to the post of an assistant clerk vacated in connection with the Jewish Act." In the mayor's office, the applicant's name was put down. (CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 10.643/1944)

⁴⁸ CSML, papers of the Szeged Auditing Office 43/1944.

⁴⁹ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 4 April 1944, 3.

⁵⁰ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 6756/1944. *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* published the list of the Jewish lawyers on 30 April 1944 (p. 7.).

⁵¹ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 5 April 1944, 4.

⁵² *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 6 April 1944, 4.

⁵³ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 13 April 1944, 4.

⁵⁴ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 5630/1944.

⁵⁵ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 16 April 1944, p. 9.

The chief constable of Kalocsa, informed on 17 April that the pharmacist of Uszód who was described as a Jew, did not wear the "yellow sign," asked the gendarmerie post in Kalocsa to "put detention into effect in the case."⁵⁶ According to the report, the pharmacist did indeed not wear the yellow star during the first day, but then he himself had reported at the parish hall to inquire what he should do for he was engaged in counter-revolutionary activities in 1919 and had, therefore, been granted exemption. The village notary and the village mayor "could not exactly resolve whether he should or should not wear the sign. Therefore they decided that he should wear it because otherwise he might get into trouble."⁵⁷ The magistrates of Uszód were right. On 16 April a similar report arrived to the chief constable of Kalocsa from the village Öregcsertő.⁵⁸ Dr. vitéz Kálmán Egedy, the chief constable recently transferred from Monor⁵⁹ decided, despite the deposition of the accused that "I was not wearing the star in the prescribed manner because I had my head covered with a shawl on account of the rain and maybe the part of the shawl hanging down covered the star," that this mother of four should be placed "under police surveillance," and should be fined 1000 pengős. The decision could not be appealed.⁶⁰

The strict "yellow star raids" of the provincial police headquarters could be explained by the fact that, on 15 April, the provincial police superintendent gave orders to "immediately conduct a raid", complementing his order on 20 April: "I want every authority to report to me weekly on when raids were made to check whether the Jews are wearing the distinctive sign, and, as the result of the raid, against how many persons action concerning petty offence and internment proceedings have been commenced."⁶¹ Before 26 May, four individuals were interned at Kiskunfélegyháza as a result of the tightened controlling measures taken every day or every other day. Most of the raids, however, yielded no "results." It was probably due to this that the provincial superintendent ordered that the "raids will have to continue ... but there is no need to report them."⁶²

On 6 April, on being informed by Deputy Clerk László Temesváry, the head of the department of housing, that residents of Szeged were moving *en masse* to the farms around the town, and presuming that the persons in question must be Jews, Béla Tóth, deputy mayor of Szeged, wrote and, on the following day, published in the Szeged newspapers the following announcement: "For the accom-

⁵⁶ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 2277/1944.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 2577/1944. Incidentally, of the 1614 inhabitants of Öregcsertő only six were described as Jews.

⁵⁹ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 2459/1944.

⁶⁰ See Note 56.

⁶¹ BKML-Kf papers of the Kiskunfélegyháza headquarters of the Hungarian Royal Police 1183/1944.

⁶² *Ibid.* The detectives continued the raids at Kiskunfélegyháza until 5 October. It was only once, on 21 June, that they found two hiding families (from Budapest and Makó), who were not wearing the yellow star; all of them were taken to the collection camp in Szeged established for Jews caught after the deportation.

modation of the victims of possible bombing raids, I hereby order that Jews obliged to wear the distinctive sign not leave their apartments in the inner area of the town, and those who have already moved to farms in the periphery, shall move back to the town within three (3) days! Whoever fails to act in accordance with this decree of mine, will have their apartments requisitioned on the basis of government decree No. 100/1943, and I will propose to the Szeged headquarters of the Hungarian Royal Police that they be interned."⁶³

It is characteristic of the tense public atmosphere that under the influence of the announcement, *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, in addition to printing the announcement, dedicated a special article to the subject, in which, without reference to any factual information, expressed indignation at "having again to face another, remarkably conspicuous Jewish peculiarity. For the Jews have practically invaded the farms around Szeged: they have fled there, and they have moved a considerable part of their wealth there, and from the Hungarian farms around Szeged they couldn't care less about the rest of the world!"⁶⁴ Deputy Mayor Béla Tóth gave special instructions to the leaders of the administrative authorities to make a list of such Jews who had moved to the peripheries without permission, and appealed for help to the Szeged police headquarters. However, the reports of the detectives and the police officers claimed that no Jews had moved to the twelve villages around Szeged that they had checked. Deputy clerk Temesváry, whose letter of 5 April initiated the detective operation, also reported that "Jews are not renting apartments, nor are they dwelling at present" in his administrative jurisdiction or "on the farms in the areas of Röske and Szentmihálytelek police districts."⁶⁵ There was one single problematic case in Szeged-Felsőközpont, but even in that case the authorization was under way since the person in question had moved in with a sibling in Szeged-Balástya.⁶⁶

Under-Secretary László Baký specifically instructed the local administrative authorities, by order of the ministry of the interior No. 167.089/1944.VII.b., to dissolve the Hungarian Zionist Association and all the branch associations and formations belonging to it, as well as all other Zionist organizations operating under whatever name immediately.⁶⁷ Deputy mayor Tóth established from his files that this measure had been put into effect following the decree of the Minister of the Interior in 1940 ordering the dissolution. To be sure, a later decree in 1943 again permitted the operation of the Hungarian Zionist Association, but no one in Szeged intimated that the Association had been reorganized. In any case, Tóth instructed first degree administrative authorities to find out whether such an organization had been founded.⁶⁸ The head of the police station at Kiskunfél-

⁶³ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4808/1944, papers of the lord lieutenant of Szeged 332/1944.

⁶⁴ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 7 April 1944, 2.

⁶⁵ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4808/1944.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ CSML, papers of the lord lieutenant of Szeged 361/1944.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

egyháza recorded as early as 3 April that he had informed the mayor of Kiskunfélegyháza "in person, by word of mouth," that the Zionist Association had no local group in the town.⁶⁹ The measure was taken before the national decree "thanks" to László Endre, who, as deputy-prefect, issued a similar order on 21 March.⁷⁰

On 16 April 1944, government decree No. 1600/1944 was published in *Buda-pesti Közlöny* obliging "all the Jews in the country" to declare "their property at the time of the present decree going into effect until 30 April 1944" with the local finance directorate.⁷¹ On the basis of this decree, real estates, securities, stocks, gold and platinum alloys, jewelry made of these metals, precious stones had to be declared, and, at the same time, these securities and assets had to be deposited at some financial institution. The raw material and stockpiles, as well as the business and working equipment of trading and industrial companies had to be declared, too. This government decree amended the earlier decree No. 38.781/1944 issued by Minister of Commerce and Communications Antal Kunder on 29 March, which provided that "in cases where the preservation of stockpiles in Jewish businesses is not warrantable for some reasons, the stockpiles in the said businesses are to be preserved by the locking-up and sealing of the business."⁷² On 8 April, the deputy mayor of Szeged instructed in a decree "the first-degree industrial authority to immediately sequester the stocks of woodenware in Jewish businesses."⁷³ The sequestration of the stocks of woodenware was put into effect by the relevant authorities by 11 April.⁷⁴ Béla Tóth, however, was compelled to issue another resolution, when he received instructions from the ministry of commerce and communications with reference to decree No. 1600/1944 M. E. to the effect that the previous telegram was null and void, and §10 Section 3 of government decree No. 1600/1944 was to be regarded as normative. Thus the resolution absolved the stockpiles of the Jewish dealers in wood in Szeged from the strict sequestration and charged them with the duty of registration "only."⁷⁵ Nevertheless, on April 21, decree No. 50.500/1944 K. K. M. made "remodification" necessary by sequestering the stockpiles and business equipment in the businesses of Jewish merchants.⁷⁶

Upon receiving, on 24 April, the 2,000+2,000 printed forms necessary for the declaration of the property of the Jews, the Szeged finance directorate immediately sent them to the mayor.⁷⁷ Deputy Director Dr. Lajos Mészáros even ob-

⁶⁹ BKML-Kf papers of the Kiskunfélegyháza headquarters of the Hungarian Royal Police 952/1944.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Vádirat* 1, 170–181.

⁷² CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4510/1944.

⁷³ CSML, papers of the Engineer's Office of Szeged 64/1944.

⁷⁴ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 4510/1944.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Vádirat* 1, 204–206.

⁷⁷ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 5396/1944.

served that "the declaration forms are to be handled in the way established for salary forms." That is, form No. I. cost 1 *pengő*, No. II. 50 *fillérs*.

The §3 of government decree No. 1600/1944 on the duty to register realties was probably the basis for the instructions on April 20, which ordered the Central Council of Szeged Jews to compile a list, by district, of the apartments rented or owned under any title by Jews or by persons described as Jews in the territory of the town of Szeged.⁷⁸

In order to assure the uniform execution of the decree on the declaration of property, Police Commissioner Béla Buócz of Szeged issued his special order for his subordinates on 30 April.⁷⁹ The §1. Section 3 of government decree 1600/1944 decreed that pieces of furniture, clothes, and household objects for personal use under the value limit of 10,000 *pengős* were not to be declared. The value limit of exemption was raised by 3,000 *pengős* for each relative living in the same household as the person making the declaration. In his special order, Béla Buócz "made clear" what was meant by objects for personal use by listing clothing and household objects.⁸⁰

Buócz demanded thoroughness and unrelenting strictness from his subordinates while executing the order. His instructions included the following: "If the necessity to search women arises, the persons in question shall be taken to headquarters so that a woman can perform the body search, ... I will immediately and most severely punish not only deliberate negligence, but negligence due to love of comfort, carelessness, misinterpreted humanism, and fear." The remarkably stern tone of the order would seem to invite the inference that Buócz, probably afraid that his subordinates might perhaps apply more lenient treatment during the execution of his order, wished to deter them from "negligence" of this kind. Unfortunately, the incompleteness of the available sources renders it impossible to establish how well founded his apprehension was, or how the execution of the order followed prescriptions.

The minister of commerce and communications ordered the sequestration of the stockpiles and business equipment belonging to Jewish businesses on the authority of §10 Section 4 of decree No. 1600/1944. M. E.⁸¹ The 26 April issue of

⁷⁸ OL, Microfilm Archives Series I, Box 30, Title 72, p. 23.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸⁰ The objects listed in the extraordinary order are the following: a) simple pieces of bedroom and dining room furniture. "Maximum one large and one small pillow, one eiderdown quilt, and three slips per person can be regarded as exempted." "The equipment of the dining room included the dinner service according to the number of family members, but it was exempted only if the spoons and the handles of forks and knives were not of silver. Furthermore, simple small and large plates, drinking glasses, bowls, according to the number of the members of the family. The set, however, must not be of quality china." b) "By articles of clothing not more than two suits of ordinary clothes, one overcoat, and one winter coat, two hats and at most six sets of simple underwear can be meant." c) "By household articles first of all kitchen furniture and equipment, and instruments of cleaning and personal hygiene are meant."

⁸¹ See Note 76.

Szegedi Új Nemzedék informed its readers that "the Christian commercial world shows great concern about the new situation in connection with the closing of Jewish businesses."⁸² "Claimants for the premises of the closed up Jewish shops are coming forward in remarkably great numbers ... For the time being, of course, there is no question of allotting the closed businesses to anyone ..."⁸³ Thus, for example, Sándor Zsótér and his partner applied in vain on 24 April.⁸⁴

The §3 of the decree clearly declared that only those Jewish businesses could continue to keep open that are needed for the purposes of defence or public supply. Naturally, "reliable Christian specialists" should be appointed to lead these businesses.⁸⁵ The Szeged chamber of commerce and industry proposed that the business of a seedsman be reopened for the sake of public supply. Deputy Mayor Tóth had the seedshop opened, and at the same time had a Christian manager appointed to it.⁸⁶

Decree No. 50.500/1944 K. K. M (of the Ministry of Commerce and Communications) appeared in the *Budapesti Közlöny* on 21 April. At Jánoshalma, at the orders of the chief constable the 26 Jewish businesses of the village were closed immediately, that is, on 22 April.⁸⁷ The register made in Szeged on 26 April contained the list of 257 sequestered Jewish businesses.⁸⁸ And on 29 April, *Szegedi Friss Újság* and *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* reported that 260 Jewish businesses had been closed in Szeged.⁸⁹ At the instructions of the ministry of commerce and communications and the repeated requests of the Szeged finance directorate,⁹⁰ the declarations of the stockpiles of the Jewish businesses in Szeged were sent to the finance directorate from the mayor's office.⁹¹

The Szeged branch of the Arrow Cross Party, with reference to their meeting on the previous day, submitted a petition to the mayor of Szeged on 27 April, in which they listed under seven headings what "measures are urgently to be taken" "in connection with the public social life of the Jews."⁹² The letter was im-

⁸² *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 26 April 1944, 5.

⁸³ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 27 April 1944, 4.

⁸⁴ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 6063/1944.

⁸⁵ For the uniform execution of the decree No. 50.500/1944 KKM, leaders of the local public administration received special information first by cable and later in mimeographed copies. CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 6161/1944.

⁸⁶ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 5979/1944. At the request dated 10 February 1945 of the seedsman described as Jew, the new mayor of Szeged released the appointed manager from his commission saying that he was "bound to hand over the business under [his] management to the proprietor on the basis of the reception inventory, and give him an account of the management of the business."

⁸⁷ BKML, papers of the village of Jánoshalma 4100/1944.

⁸⁸ CSML, papers of the Engineer's Office of Szeged 2357/1944.

⁸⁹ *Szegedi Friss Újság*, 29 April 1944, 3; *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 29 April 1944, 2.

⁹⁰ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 6161/1944, 6653/1944.

⁹¹ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 6161/1944.

⁹² CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged 5948/1944. The seven headings are the following: "1. Jews branded with the yellow star and their children under the age of six can-

mediately forwarded to the police headquarters for an opinion. The reply of Béla Buócz on 9 May indicates that police and administrative organs did not need advice for taking restrictive measures against Jews.⁹³ Jews having already been banned from visiting public baths by decree No. 444/1944. of the ministry of the interior on 2 May,⁹⁴ the deputy commissioner regarded it necessary "with regard to public health" that "they be able bathe in the public bath on a certain day, separated from Christians." Incidentally, the management of the Szeged Turkish baths, in anticipation of the decree of the minister of the interior, made it officially known through *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, on 28 April, that Jews would no longer be admitted in the steam baths.⁹⁵ After the decree was published, the manager, vitéz László Irányi, announced at the meeting of the municipal industrial committee that the Jews were banned from the baths.⁹⁶ He also asked the municipal authorities that, although "the decree made it possible for the owner of the baths to appoint a suitable day and time when the excluded Jews could use the facilities, ... this should not be allowed because the Jews might infest the premises with parasites and thus could spread diseases." The chief municipal medical officer, approving of the ban, suggested on 6 June, when the ghetto was already established, that "shower baths" be erected "within the enclosed space."⁹⁷ It is to be noted here that sub-prefects and mayors were receiving dozens of orders concerning the Jews, and most of them did their best to carry them out to the letter and as soon as possible. This, even when the demands were unrealistic because by early May there was no Jew left to be banished from the public baths. On 5 May, Andor Dobay, deputy-prefect of Csongrád county issued his order, to the district chief constables and the mayors of the towns in the county on the exclusion of Jews from public baths.⁹⁸ The chief constable of Mindszent replied to the deputy-prefect on 11 May that although there were no public baths within his ju-

not patronize either indoor or outdoor baths; 2. Jews cannot appear in public places between 6 p.m. and 8 a.m.; 3. During the day, Jews cannot stay in squares and streets designated for walking even for a short time; in other streets and squares they may pass without stopping, hurrying after their business; 4. They can have their affairs conducted in municipal offices only through their official organization or through their agent appointed by the office of the rabbi; 5. The body of municipal officials and other personnel shall be instructed to avoid all intimate manners of intercourse, such as shaking hands, with Jewish parties while discussing official matters with them; 6. Jews cannot have their Christian employees or other agents conduct their personal or official affairs in municipal offices; 7. Jews shall not patronize places of amusement simultaneously with Christians."

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Vádirat* 1, 285–286.

⁹⁵ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 28 April 1944, 5.

⁹⁶ CSML, papers of the mayor of Szeged, 9240/1944.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* The following note, dated 24 June, is written on the back of the paper: "In the meantime the Jewish question has been settled, cognizance taken, ordered to be archived." This means that the Jews were already in the collecting camp in the brick factory, their deportation commencing the following day.

⁹⁸ CSML-Szentes, papers of the chief constable of the district of Mindszent, 1160/1944.

risdiction, he proposed that in the summer the Jews be also forbidden to use the public beaches along the Tisza River.⁹⁹ The number of Jews in the district was, incidentally, 159.

The operators of the sports swimming pool in Szentes (also in Csongrád county) requested, on 13 May, the complete exclusion of Jews. However, the leaseholder of the local hot baths and swimming pool was willing to allow Jews to have "a hot shower."¹⁰⁰ On 31 May, at the request of József Berend, Chief Rabbi, Chairman of the Jewish Council of Szentes, the leaseholder consented that "if the Jews in the ghetto can guarantee the bathing of at least 150 persons, then on one of the days of the week, Friday and Sunday excepted, he can provide steam bath, hot shower baths, and communal pool bath for them."¹⁰¹ Mayor Sándor Kanász-Nagy made his final decision on June 14 and allowed the Jews to use the steam baths on Wednesdays according to the above conditions. When he made this decision, he already knew that two days later the 398 inmates of the Szentes ghetto would be taken to the collection camp in Szeged, to be deported from there.

According to the order of 8 May made by Dr. Buócz, in Szeged "the Jews shall not leave their homes between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., and they shall do their shopping both in open shops and in assorted market places between 10 and 11 a.m."¹⁰² This order is a proof of the ardour of Dr. Buócz. The relevant government order, which allowed two hours for shopping, was published a month later.¹⁰³

The head of the Szeged police headquarters was of the opinion that the municipal offices could be ordered to have the Jews represent themselves in them only through the Jewish Council. Indeed, on 28 April he already announced to the Jewish residents of the town that he would give information in connection with the Jewish decrees only to the agents of the Jewish Council.¹⁰⁴ Deputy Mayor Béla Tóth took the advice and had his resolution published in *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* on 27 May: "As from today, Jews are prohibited to enter the Town Hall!" Only the Jewish Council "had the right to conduct business in offices and get in touch with officials."¹⁰⁵

The leader of the Szeged headquarters of the Royal Hungarian Police meant business when he was threatening the Jews with internment. On 31 March 1944, he was instructed by the order of the ministry of the interior No. 5999/1944. VII. res. to "take into custody all proven suspected communists as well as leading persons of left-wing movements, and left-wing persons who jeopardize public

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ CSML-Szentes, papers of the mayor of Szentes, 1581/1944.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 9 May 1944, 3.

¹⁰³ *Budapesti Közlöny*, 4 June 1944, 2. No. 125. Government order No. 1990/1944 on restricting Jews' shopping to certain times of the day. The similar resolution of the mayor of Makó, probably inspired by the example of Szeged, appeared in the local newspaper on 25 May.

¹⁰⁴ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 29 April 1944, 3; *Szegedi Friss Újság*, 29 April 1944, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Szegedi Új Nemzedék*, 27 May 1944, 5.

safety."¹⁰⁶ On the grounds of that order, the Szeged police headquarters arrested 170 individuals in April 1944 and handed them over within a few days either to the department of penitentiary and vagrant affairs of the Budapest police headquarters or to the internment camp at Bácsstopolya.¹⁰⁷ One of the criteria of unreliability, although not spelled out in as many words in the text of the order, must have been religion because next to the names of 124 persons, i.e. over 70% of 170, "relig. Israelite" was added. This is how, for instance, grocer and corn dealer Mátyás Fenyő, one of the wealthiest and most respectable merchants in Szeged, a former member for years of the municipal board, was locked up in the cellar of the Town Hall and deported to the internment camp at Bácsstopolya. According to Fenyő's recollection and contemporary documents, on 17 April two detectives called on him with orders to arrest one of the Fenyős, never mind which.¹⁰⁸ Most of the arrested individuals were merchants, lawyers, journalists, and artisans from Szeged.¹⁰⁹

In the Kalocsa district, thanks to the enthusiasm of László Endre, even before the decree of the ministry of the interior, the village magistrates received telephone instructions on 20 March, and an order from the sub-prefect on 22 March, to "intern suspicious Jewish and suspected communist elements."¹¹⁰ The town clerk of Foktő, in his report of 26 March, called attention to the contradiction that contrary to the above, "the chief constable ordered at the district council of officers as well as in his order No. 1798/1944. that all the Jews and suspected communist individuals are to be registered."¹¹¹ As a result of the poorly coordinated instructions, the magistrates in some villages, as, for example, at Dusnok, submitted "proposals to intern Jews." The town clerk of Sükösd made a list of "Jewish individuals over the age of 16," at Bátya even "impeccably Christian" spouses were put on the list. Since the documents keep silent about this issue, it can only be assumed that "internments and placements under police surveillance" before 25 April were performed on the basis of the opinion of the police and gendarmerie.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ OL, K 149 – BM res. – 1943–44, file 287.

¹⁰⁷ CSML, papers of the Szeged lord lieutenant 79/1944.

¹⁰⁸ M. Fenyő, *A deportálások kezdete és vége* [The beginning and the end of deportations]. Manuscript. In the Historical Collection of Móra Ferenc Museum. The manuscript was written early in 1963. For Fenyő's activities in detail, see: I. Zombori, "Egy szegedi polgár kulturális élete," [The cultural life of a citizen of Szeged], in *A szegedi zsidó polgárság emlékezete* ed. I. Zombori, Szeged 1990, 145–155. In his memoirs, Fenyő makes the following remark concerning Buócz: "My wife went to former police commissioner dr. Buócz, who had been my next door neighbour in Újszeged and more than once had availed himself of my services. He would not even see my wife."

¹⁰⁹ See Note 107.

¹¹⁰ BKML, papers (administrative) of the chief constable of the Kalocsa district 1798/1944. See also Note 27.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

All these decrees and their execution were merely an introduction, the preparation for the radical solution of the Jewish question. "The organization was indeed masterly, this ability to accelerate the process: first by taking away the money as well as the jewels, but leaving a hundred *pengős* and the wedding ring in the knowledge that there would be plenty of time to take those, too; by expelling the Jew from the chambers and the craftsmen's association; by firing him but allowing him to stay in his home for the time being since he cannot remain there for long anyway; by having Jewish businesses locked up, but ordering the merchants to be at the service of Christian customers for two more weeks behind half-lowered shutters; by standing in their own businesses in semi-darkness, keeping hope on a low flame; by confiscating the bicycle, the radio, but ordering to accept them only in mint condition, so that we should even be worried whether we can surrender them at all; depriving us of our ration coupons with the promise to have others printed, and ..." ¹¹³ This is how Mária Ember described the process of having the Jews get gradually accustomed to the decrees, thereby paralyzing their resistance, and keeping hope alive until the very last moment.

¹¹³ M. Ember, *Hajtűkanyar* [Hairpin bend] Budapest 1977, 2nd edn., 130.

The change of rule and reprisals against the Hungarians in Yugoslavia 1944–1946

ENIKŐ A. SAJTI



The Lakatos government in Hungary was considering the idea of forming a Serb defence force to help Hungary to retain Bačka (Bácska) and sent an emissary to the headquarters of Mihailović to discuss the matter.¹ Meanwhile, however, the Yugoslav partisans entered the Banate (Bánát) at the beginning of October, along with the Soviet army. Units of the Eighth Vojvodina Brigade transferred there from Srim (Szerémség) entered Bela Crkva (Fehértemplom) on 1 October and reached Vršac (Versec) on the following day. On 16 October, the partisan high command moved there, including Tito. He had just reached an agreement with Stalin in Moscow, covering joint military operations of the Yugoslav and Soviet armies on Yugoslav soil. Under that agreement, Tito had received a requested tank division, an undertaking from the Soviets to quit the territory of Yugoslavia after the military operations, and permission for Yugoslav authorities to exercise

¹ Lajos Bolla, the Hungarian consul general in Belgrade, wrote in his report on 3 October 1944, "An emissary of ours (a military man) tried recently to reach Mihailović's headquarters. This happened just at the time when Tito's bands had made a successful strike on Mihailović's headquarters in the Ravna Gora mountains. Our emissary told me that as a result of the attack, he failed to reach his desired destination and had to make a 35-km night-time journey through the pathless mountains, partly on foot. Furthermore, he found himself in an extremely dangerous situation in a village near Gornji Milanovac, when Mihailović's men began to act in a threatening way towards him, so that only after strong representations by him and the Mihailović officer accompanying him could he continue his journey. He also told me that on the way, seven communist prisoners had their throats cut before his eyes." Finally, the consul general recommended that under the circumstances, they should not insist upon making direct contact with Mihailović and his men. Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, henceforth: MOL). K-63. Küm. pol. 1944-16-119.

the functions of public administration during the Soviet stay.² From Vršac, Tito directed the liberation of the capital, Belgrade, as commander in chief. This extremely important operation included the introduction of military rule in the Banate and in Bačka and Baranja (Baranya), i.e. in all territories recovered from Hungary except the Međimurje (Muraköz) and the Mura Country. Tito justified this by "the extraordinary circumstances under which these territories lived during the occupation, and the need to remove as fast and fully as possible all misfortune caused to our people by the occupiers and the aliens settled here, while full mobilization of the economy for as successful a continuation as possible to the war of people's liberation requires initially that all power be in the hands of the army."³ Colonel General Ivan Rukovina was put in charge of the military administration. He stated plainly in a proclamation on 22 October that military rule was needed "to preserve the national future and the South Slav nature of these territories." He went on to say that the Slav population had an obligation to "help in the introduction of measures necessary from the point of view of the national future,"⁴ and warned of the toughest sanctions against acts of sabotage. Rukovina was directly subordinate to Tito. The only other place where military rule was introduced after the partisans took over was Kosovo, where there had been an armed uprising.

Nikola Petrović, a member of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ), reflected the view of many South Slavs when he called it a "historic decision" to introduce military rule. Writing in *Slobodna Vojvodina*, the organ of the Vojvodina People's Liberation Unity Front, Petrović went on to say, "We have broken up, or rather, pushed westwards the conquering German and Hungarian hordes, but we have not yet rooted out the poisonous weeds they scattered... The aliens, in their tens and hundreds of thousands, who settled territories where our forefathers cleared forests and drained marshes, creating the conditions for civilized life, still shoot from the darkness at our heroes and at Russian soldiers, and do everything to prevent normalization of the situation, preparing, in this difficult situation for us, for the right moment to stick a knife in our backs again... The people sense the need for this decisive measure and the need for energetic measures to safeguard the Yugoslav nature of the Banate, Bačka and Baranja."⁵

So there were several motives behind the introduction of military rule. Here, as in Kosovo, the positions of the new authorities were very weak, so that the readiness for action provided by military rule helped to eliminate even the minimal possibility of restoring the Hungarian administration. Of course, there was no chance of this in any case. Budapest, it will be seen later, did not even raise the question of a border adjustment on ethnic grounds in the South Country. It was important for Tito's regime to prevent this, lest these territories become a focus

² E. A. Sajti, "Tito," in P. Polonyi, E. A. Sajti, *Mao–Tito*. Budapest 2000, 267.

³ J. B. Tito, *Sabrana dela*. Vol. 24. Belgrade 1984, 96–97.

⁴ *Muzej Vojvodine arhivska zbirka* (henceforth: MV AZ). PK KPJ za Vojvodinu. No. 18815.

⁵ *Slobodna Vojvodina* (reprint edition), 28 October 1944.

for supporters of the emigré government in London or for royalists, on the pretext of the Tito-Šubašić agreement concluded under pressure from the Allies, notably Britain.⁶

The Yugoslav military administration placed the organizations of people's power under strict military control. In some villages inhabited by Hungarians, Germans or Romanians, minority members were expressly forbidden to set up people's committees, whereas in general, there was pressure to establish rapidly a Slav-led police force (or People's Guard, as it was called at the time). Minority members were also forbidden to travel, move about in any way, or even use their language. Germans and Hungarians set to do forced labour in Stari Bečej (Óbecse) had to wear a white armband, so that they could be checked more easily.

Although the ideological framework was different, the Yugoslav military administration was brought in for very much the same reasons as the Hungarian one introduced in 1941. The purpose was to remove any doubts about where the territory belonged, on national (South Slav national) grounds, and to take indisputable control of every branch of authority and administration. Tito issued a decree harnessing the largely undamaged economic potential of the territory to the war effort. However, the new possessors of power made that criterion subordinate to ethnic policy, by interning and deporting members of the German and Hungarian communities, so that seasonal labour had to be brought from places as distant as Macedonia.

The military administration was divided into two regions, the Banate and Bačka-Baranja, each subdivided under district and local commands. The Banate and Bačka were each divided into four military districts, while Baranja formed a single district. The seats of the districts were Petrovaradin (Pétervárad), Velika Kikinda (Nagykikinda), Pančevo (Pancsova) and Vršac in the Banate, and Novi Sad (Újvidék), Subotica (Szabadka), Sombor (Zombor) and Stari Bečej in Bačka. There were seven departments in the executive branch and the judiciary. Administrative, legal, statistical and personal matters, for instance, belonged to the General Department, while the Military Administration Department covered mobilization, labour service and labour camps. There were separate departments for legal and judicial work, the economy, transport, health, and public education.⁷ There were doubts from the outset about the loyalty of the German and Hungarian minorities to the new state. Yugoslavia, like several other countries in Europe, openly declared the collective responsibility of the Germans for the events of the war, while the Hungarians were categorized in a subtler way. ("Not all Hungari-

⁶ R. Končar, *Vojna uprava za Banat, Bačku i Baranju 1944/1945. Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa Narodna vlast u Vojvodini 1941–1945*. Novi Sad 1986, 738.

⁷ On the military administration, see Končar, op. cit.; R. Cvejić, "Uloga KPJ u organizovanju i radu Vojne uprave za Banat, Bačku i Baranju," *Istraživanja* 1 (1971), 245–255; A. Kasaš, "Ekonomске mere Vojne uprave za Banat, Bačku i Baranju 1944/1945," *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske series* 27 (1983), 173–183; N. Lazić, *Baranja 1941–1945*. Slavonski Brod 1979, 252–259; E. A. Sajti, *Délvidék 1941–1944* [South Country, 1941–1944] Budapest 1987, 243–248.

ans are responsible for the crimes of Szálasi and Horthy.”) However, the line of “paying back everything” in revenge and collective responsibility was the dominant one in the early months.

The internment of the Germans and confiscation of all their property was officially ordered on 18 October 1944. Forty internment camps were established in Vojvodina, into which the data known today suggest that 140,000 Germans were crowded. These were almost exclusively women, children and old people. (It has been seen already that the men were conscripted into or volunteered for the SS and some of the population had left the country with the German troops.) Two days later, on 20 October 1944, the internment of Hungarians began. It is almost impossible to establish how many Hungarians were interned, as the literature available does not even give approximate figures. Knowledge of their fate as individuals, however, has grown substantially since the 1990s, mainly through reminiscences. Humiliated and exploited, they were put to work mainly in agriculture and timber production. This was done although they had not had any hand in the atrocities against the Serbs. For those that had were executed, or in the case of the Hungarian inhabitants of Čurug (Csurog) and Mošorin (Mozsor) in the Šajkaš (Sajkás) district, collectively expelled at the request of the local Slavs, because so many of them had assisted in the 1942 raid. The order to intern and relocate the Čurug Hungarians⁸ came from the Vojvodina committee investigating war crimes on 23 January 1945 – after Rukovina’s order on 1 December for the release of Hungarian internees deemed to be innocent. The reason given was that the whole adult Hungarian population of Čurug had taken part “directly or indirectly” in the bloody events of 1942. As the document put it, the relocation was necessary “to ensure the normal course of life in the village and punish justly those who had taken part in the assaults during the occupation.” The statement on the subject in *Slobodna Vojvodina* on 26 January 1945 emphasized that the deportees were Hungarians, but the move was not aimed at all Hungarians. It was a punishment for those who had “committed crimes by their evil-doings.” A similar fate befell the 550 Hungarian inhabitants of Mošorin and in fact almost all the Hungarians in the Šajkaš district along the River Tisza. Most of them were taken

⁸ For recent work on the reprisals, see M. Matuska, *A megtorlás napjai*. [Days of Reprisal] Novi Sad 1991; *Miért? Zakaj?* Lendavski zvezki/Lendvai füzetek series, no. 16. eds. S. Kulčar et al. Lendava 1998; L. Forró, *Jelöletlen tömegsírok Magyarkanizsán, Martonoson és Adorjánon* [Unmarked Graves at Kanjiža, Martonoš and Adorjan] Szeged 1995; S. Mészáros, *Holtta nyilvánítva*. [Declared Dead] Novi Sad 1991; T. Cseres, *Vérbosszú a Bácskában*. [Vendetta in Bačka] Budapest 1991; B. Teleki, *Becse történetéből*. [From the History of Bečej] Bečej 1995; E. A. Sajti, “Magyarok a Vajdaságban 1944 őszén” [Hungarians in Vojvodina in Autumn 1944] in *Nemzettudat, jugoszlávizmus, magyarság*. Szeged 1991, 123–131; Zs. Cirkli, *Bácskai golgota*. [Bačka Golgotha] Totovo Selo 1998; I. Papp, *Ez a mi kálváriánk*. [This is our Calvary] Novi Sad 1999; J. Szloboda, *Zentán történt 44-ben*. [It Happened in Senta in ‘44] Novi Sad 1997; J. Teleki, *Visszatekintés a múltba*. [Looking Back into the Past] Novi Sad 1996; Earlier, similar writings could appear only in the United States or Europe. See E. Homonnay, *Atrocities Committed by Tito’s Communist Partisans in Occupied Southern Hungary*. Cleveland Oh. 1957.

to the internment camps at Bački Jarak (Járek), Gajdobra (Szépliget) and Mladonovo (Dunabökény). The ghastliest situation developed at Bački Jarak, where various infectious diseases and poor provisions led to a very high mortality rate. At least 3,000 German internees died there, including about 400 children. The adult Hungarians of Čurug and Žabalj (Zsablya) were marched to Bački Jarak, while the children and women were taken by train and lorry. In the spring of 1945, there were 3632 Hungarians at Bački Jarak, which gained notoriety as the death camp and was closed in June 1945.⁹ At the same time, the first Slav settlers arrived in the village, which had once been almost entirely German in population.

The most tragic events after the change of rule in the South Country were the indiscriminate executions, mass murders and "still colder days."¹⁰ Instead of being followed by official investigations, these became shrouded in a silence imposed by the political authorities. The historiography of the question is interesting in itself, not least as a typical example of how authority can mask its crimes in euphemisms. Here let us try to reconstruct one aspect of this—the sources and attributions on which the published estimates of the number of victims have been based and how much researchers have managed to discover so far. However, there are some remarks to make beforehand. The resistance and civil war that preceded the Tito system and provided its legitimacy brought with it a psychology of terror and counter-terror not alien to the revenge culture that is socially acceptable in the Balkans. The new authorities, and Tito himself, toyed with the principle of "the worse the better", in terms of strengthening the partisan movement. Many of his writings in this period show that he saw acts of terror against the Serbs, wherever they occurred, as events that played into the partisans' hands and could be used to further the communist movement. The new elite had a feeling, not to be underrated, that they had "suffered" to gain power. They and all those who had suffered for the new system were the only ones who had a right to exact revenge and receive compensation for their sacrifices. The concept of collaborators, traitors and fascists was not a legal one, but a political one, which could be extended indefinitely and had received moral and political reinforcement internationally from the trials of war criminals conducted by the Allies.

In foreign-policy terms, there were no factors forcing the system to investigate itself and face facts that had been at work on Hungary after January 1942. There were desires for domestic political consolidation, but these were sufficient only to

⁹ S. Mészáros, "A járeki haláltábor" [Bački Jarak Death Camp] in B. Csorba, ed., *S nem törődtek vele, a holnap mit őrl.* [And They Paid No Heed to What the Tomorrow Brings] Források a Délvidék történetéhez 3, Budapest 1999, 204.

¹⁰ The expression "cold days" entered the vocabulary of the Hungarian public and historians from the title of a gruelling novel by Tibor Cseres. The "cold days" covered the mass murders and razzias by the Hungarian soldiery and gendarmerie in January 1942, when Serbs and Jews were shot and fell into the icy waters of the Danube. The "still colder days" refer to the way the partisans shot more Hungarians dead in revenge than the Hungarians had killed during the razzias.

ensure that the crimes committed against the Hungarians were classed as minor political "mistakes" that could be overruled and remedied, and were simply a "political error" on the part of a young, new system.

The author considers that in terms of politics and power, the new system, for rational reasons, should not have allowed official and popular revenge to be taken on such a scale. It was done nonetheless, although efforts were made to ensure that the reprisals did not become a destabilizing influence. Tito himself treated the reprisals issue according to strictly political criteria. They were directed not at a specific nation or national group, but against all who were collaborators according to the philosophy of the victors and of whom it was thought that they might endanger the socio-political structure of the new system. Between the "good" and the "bad" was drawn an ideological, political dividing line, and everyone who had not "taken to the woods" with the partisans was called to account.

That at most provided a cover for the ethnic forces behind the call to account, without changing them. Tito, in the autumn and winter of 1944-1945, handled in a masterly fashion the reprisals and the "fraternity and unity" that were seen as the foundation stone of the system. For instance, when the British followed the valid agreement by handing over to the Yugoslav army the *domobran* (Croatian enlisted men) who had surrendered at Bleiburg, as well as the *Ustaša* and other Croatian refugees, the regime proceeded to execute tens of thousands of prisoners of war and civilians. According to the official order signed by Tito, they were to be handled as prisoners of war, but he sent a messenger ordering that they should be executed just the same. Similar retribution was exacted near Kočevski Rog on Slovenian enlisted soldiers and fleeing civilians, and that is not to mention what was done in Kosovo.

The military administration carried a penal function. Before Tito arrived in Vrsec, he ordered Peko Dapčević, commander of the First Army, to send him a "reliable" brigade "to clear the town of its Swabian [local German] population."¹¹

The reprisals were largely carried out by state-security units of the People's Defence Department or OZNA (*Odeljenje za zaštitu naroda*),¹² but regular partisan units also took part. In many cases, the local population simply settled scores with its enemies. The reprisals were therefore carried out mainly by the new organizations of power and military force, but paradoxically, it was the rudimentary, rootless condition of these that led to the uncontrolled escalation in the scale of their actions. It is now known that Tito also had knowledge of the executions in the South Country, while the internments and deportations were ordered by the military administrative bodies themselves. The OZNA received authority for its cleansing operations from the commander in chief. According to the recollec-

¹¹ Sajti, "Tito", 272-274; M. Dželbdžić, ed., *Tito u Vršacu*. Vršac 1984, XIX.

¹² OZNA was formed in September 1943 as part of the High Command. Its aim originally was to build up an intelligence-gathering service to identify and punish spies and fifth columnists. Headed by Aleksandar Ranković, it was the forerunner of the State Security Directorate (UDB).

tions, the punishment of the people of Čurug and Žabalj was authorized by Tito himself when a delegation applied to him. However, Tito feared there would be international outrage at the scale of the reprisals and called before him the leaders of the Provincial Committee of the KPJ, Žarko Atanasković, its secretary, and Isa Jovanović, its organizing secretary. According to the recollections of the latter, Stari ("Old One", the name used for Tito in tightly knit, high-ranking political circles) was angry because he was afraid of international complications and claimed they had known nothing about the reprisals. In self-justification, Jovanović added, "These were done by individual commanders, mainly local people, often at the instigation of activists. The military administration had no knowledge of these excesses either."¹³ A state commission was set up in May 1945 to investigate the "injustices" committed in Vojvodina. However, the records of the commission's work have never been found, if it ever began to operate at all.

For many years, historians were obliged to rely on word-of-mouth estimates, until the collection of reminiscences and archival research began in present-day Yugoslavia. The latter have been confined so far almost entirely to the archive materials in Vojvodina and in Hungary. The materials in the Belgrade archives remain largely unknown, while exploration of the military archives has only just begun. Furthermore, it has to be realized that for a system of administration working by "partisan" methods, without any antecedents, the least of its concerns is to record its own atrocities in writing. So it is not certain that the records in the military archives will bring us any nearer to accurate figures for the victims. The author takes the view that local historical research is likely to come nearest to the truth. So far it has been possible to find in historical writings and journalism figures that show discrepancies of several hundred per cent. Some put the number of victims at 5,000 and others at 40,000.

The tribunal on war crimes (*Komisija za utvrđivanje ratnih zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*) sentenced altogether 899 Vojvodina Hungarians to death for war crimes. Present knowledge suggests that about 5,000 people of Hungarian ethnicity were convicted of war crimes in judicial trials according to the laws of the time, but most of them were sentenced to forced labour or prison.¹⁴ The OZNA kept a special list of those executed in many places. The sentences were passed without a formal trial, based on "announcement" or perhaps on a list of Arrow-Cross party members that had been found, or because someone had actually or presumably taken part in a raid. Many people were executed for having been members of the Hungarian Party of Renewal, or because they had held office during the years of Hungarian rule. In some cases, it was even enough to have been an elementary-school teacher who taught national awareness to his or her pupils, served as a Levente youth-movement leader, and so on. Surviving OZNA

¹³ I. Jovanović, *U službi revolucije*. Novi Sad 1987, 198–199.

¹⁴ The number of Hungarians executed as war criminals appears, on the basis of research by Sándor Mészáros, in Matuska, 373; A. Kasaš, *Mađari u Vojvodini 1941–1946*. [Hungarians in Vojvodina] Novi Sad 1996, 203. gives a figure of 5,000 for the number of Hungarians prosecuted for war crimes.

lists prove that mass executions took place mainly between late October and November 1944.

The main sources explored so far by historians in Yugoslavia are a list compiled by the Vojvodina OZNA entitled "Register of Executed War Criminals 1944/45" and notes of the names of those executed kept by some local people's committees. These show plainly that 5,000 Hungarians in Bačka and the Banate were executed in October and November 1944. Those executed in Baranja, the Međumurje and Mura district are not included in the total. Nor are those executed after sentencing by the Yugoslavian people's courts. The figure of 5,000 covers only those executed whose names can be reconstructed from the two types of list mentioned and only those executed by the OZNA. Yugoslav Hungarian historical, and still more, journalistic accounts of the reprisals often cite a conversation between the historian Sándor Mészáros, who died a few years ago, and Svetozar Kostić Čapo, head of the Vojvodina provincial OZNA at the time of the executions. He thought that the OZNA forces had executed 20,000 Hungarians.¹⁵

The first reports of the atrocities by the partisans occupying the South Country reached Budapest almost immediately, at the end of August 1944, while the Lakatos government was still in power. The information came from the already disintegrating gendarmerie in the South Country, or more precisely the Medimurje, and from Iván Nagy, a member of Parliament.

Nagy passed on to the Prime Minister's Office a moving letter dated 7 August 1944 from Rózsi Lajkó of Čakovec (Csáktornya, in the Mura district), in which she told her brother in the Bačka village of Doroslovo (Doroszló) of their father's death. The partisans, on 23 July 1944, had rounded up 68 people, of whom six were Serbs, nine Dalmatians and the rest Hungarians. "Ten of these they tied together in front of the community and announced that they were taking them before the military law, and the rest of the youngsters would be [sent] under arms into battle." Since some of the men they sought were not at home, they threatened the women, including the writer of the letter, saying that if the young men are not at home next time, they will take the women out for execution. The men collected were driven out to the edge of the village, to a marshy area, and there "they had to sing and they beat and stabbed them, shot them dead and pushed them tied together into the bushes, and those that were still alive choked like that... There were no other dead except these older men, but we don't know why it had to be done like that. Dear brother, we are orphans now, our good father is no more, there is mourning in our hearts..."¹⁶

The Central Investigation Command of the gendarmerie reported on the same events on 19 August. According to this account, a partisan detachment of 50 men had burst into Čakovec, rounded up 53 prosperous Hungarians and taken away

¹⁵ These sources were unearthed by the Novi Sad historian Aleksandar Kasaš, who also published the victims' names. Kasaš, 160–178.

¹⁶ MOL. K-28. *ME Kisebbségi osztály*. [Prime Minister's Office, Minorities Department] 1944-R-25965. The letter was written in a strong dialect and with spelling mistakes.

their horses and agricultural implements. Their relatives had found the bodies of 37 victims in a wood a few kilometres from the village.¹⁷

The provisional Hungarian government in Debrecen certainly knew about the atrocities a few weeks after its formation. Its earliest known report on the subject, compiled in Debrecen on 16 January 1945, deals with the Petőfi Brigade formed by the partisans. These source materials of 1945–46 also contain *estimates* of the number of victims, which have found their way into the public mind in Hungary through various channels. The anonymous author of the January 16 report had escaped into Hungary from Bačka. According to his report, "The fate of the Hungarians in the first weeks of the occupation was forced labour (men born 1883–1929 and plenty of women as well), large-scale slaughter in more serious cases (see the ensuing report), and possibly financial (robbery) and moral ruin (violation of Hungarian women)."¹⁸ By the end of July, the Foreign Ministry had also received a list of Catholic priests killed or imprisoned by the partisans. It contained the names of 22 persons, of whom 13 were known for certain to have been murdered, including Bálint Dupp, the parish priest of Čurug, István Virág, titular abbot of Horgoš (Horgos), the parish priests Dénes Szabó of Totovo Selo (Tótfalu), Lajos Varga of Mol (Mohol), Ferenc Petrányi of Stari Bečej, Ferenc Plank of Stari Sivec (Ószivác), István Köves of Mošorin, Antal Berger of Tavankút (Tavankút) and Dr Ferenc Takács of Bačko Petrovo Selo (Péterréve), as well as Father Krizosztom Köröztös, Franciscan prior of Novi Sad, and another, unnamed Franciscan friar.¹⁹ These names are also likely to have reached the government through Prince-Primate József Mindszenty, as did the account of the atrocities compiled by Hungarian refugees from the South Country, which Mindszenty passed to Foreign Minister János Gyöngyösi on 17 July 1946.²⁰ (One of the authors had escaped from the Novi Sad internment camp.) Historians record how Mindszenty condemned resettlement of the Hungarian community in Slovakia, in a dramatically worded pastoral letter on 15 October 1945, but with the Hungarians in Yugoslavia, he thought it enough to pass on news to the government. The report put the number of victims at 50,000–60,000. Special mention was made of the Jarak camp, where the authors said that 80 people a day were dying. They also counted 16 priests of Kalocsa diocese among the victims. A report prepared by the Foreign Ministry on 16 October 1945 for the peace preparations put the number of dead at 40,000, while another memorandum, made for Prime Minister Fe-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ MOL. *A nemzeti kormány miniszterelnökségének iratai* [Documents of the Prime Minister's Office of the national government]. 1944/1945–1949. XIX-A-1-j-XXIII-112–1945. 21.d. Unfortunately, the supplementary report mentioned was not found.

¹⁹ MOL. *Külgügyminisztérium Békeelőkészítő osztály iratai* [Documents of the Foreign Ministry Peace Preparations Committee] XIX-J-1-a-IV-109-40178/Bé-1945. 55.d. Later research established that the unknown Franciscan was called Kristóf Kovács. Péter Weiner, parish priest of Bačka Palanka (Palánka), died in internment camp and Endre Varga, parish priest of Toba (Tóba), during interrogation. M. Matuska, "Vajdaság mártír papjai," [Martyr Priests of Vojvodina] in Csorba, *S nem törődtek vele*, 219–21.

²⁰ MOL. XIX-J-1-a-IV-109-1981/Bé-1946. 55.d.

renc Nagy on October 20, 1946, gave a figure of 30,000–35,000. József Horváth, a lawyer from Bačka who fled to Szeged, wrote in a letter to Gyöngyösi of some 30,000 victims. A member of the Peace Preparations Department at the Prime Minister's Office, in a document at the end of November 1945, stated that there were "apparently" 20,000 Hungarian victims. The Minorities Department at the Prime Minister's Office, in one of the peace preparations materials made in the autumn of 1949 about Yugoslavia, contains this formula: "According to unverifiable reports, the number of Hungarians executed in Vojvodina was about 40,000. The closure of the Yugoslav border and the insurmountable obstacles to travel to Yugoslavia make it impossible to gain an insight into this question."²¹

So the estimates that reached the Hungarian government from various sources ranged from 60,000 down to 20,000. The figure that became most established in Hungary was the 40,000 mentioned by Tibor Cseres, based on data from two Catholic priests, Márton Szűcs and József Kovács. It seems likely, therefore, that Mindszenty and Cseres drew on the same sources.

Dezső Sulyok, formerly a Smallholders Party member of Parliament, did not give a figure in the memoirs he wrote from exile, but he had hard words for the slaughter perpetrated by the "revenge brigades". József Grósz, archbishop of Kalocsa, who received accounts from priests in his diocese who had fled, wrote in his diary of revenge and the large number of victims. The writer Gyula Illyés recorded in his diary on 27 May 1945 that 30,000 Hungarians had been murdered in the South Country, while on 5 June he mentioned a figure of 40,000.²²

These estimates made immediately after the executions have not been quoted out of any conviction that they bring the figures any closer to the truth. The important point here is that the Hungarian government knew of the mass retribution from the outset, even if the figures reaching them were not accurate. Despite that, there is no sign that the government raised the question of the mass executions anywhere – not with the Allied Control Commission, not separately in Moscow, nor at the Paris peace negotiations, let alone in Belgrade.

The only informal protest of which the author knows was made by Mátyás Rákosi, leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, on a secret visit to Vojvodina in January 1945, when he met Vojvodina provincial leaders and apparently even Tito himself. Rákosi, who was actually born in the Bačka village of Ada, met the secretary of the KPJ Provincial Committee, Jovan Veselinov Žarkov. Veselinov recalled the meeting in his memoirs, although he no longer remembered the exact

²¹ *Ibid.* IV-104-jugoszláv-40.171/Bé-1945. 54.d.; IV-109-495/Bé-1946. 55.d; IV-110-40862/Bé-1945. 55.d; MOL. *Miniszterelnökség Kisebbségi és nemzetiségi osztályának iratai* [Documents of the Prime Minister's Office Minorities and National Groups Department], 1945-8. XIX-A-1-n-"Z"3045/1946. 6.d.

²² Cseres, 242-247. For critiques of these calculations, see E. A. Sajti, "Döbbenet és hitelesség," [Dismay and Credibility] *Magyar Napló*, Vol. III, No. 12, 4 October 1991, 36-38; D. Sulyok, *A magyar tragédia*. [Hungarian Tragedy] Part 1, Private edition, 1945, 156-157; J. Török, ed., *Grósz érsek naplója 1944-1946* [Diary of Archbishop Grósz, 1944-1946] Budapest n.d., 56; Gy. Illyés, *Naplójegyzetek 1929-1945*. [Diary Notes, 1929-1945] Budapest 1986, 364, 366.

date. Rákosi, apparently, had told him he approved of what the Yugoslav communists had done "with Horthy's men and the war criminals", for they had done the same with all traitors, but he requested that the mass executions and deportations be suspended.²³

Careful study of the sources reveals how the reprisals lost significance at government level—in the Minorities Department of the Prime Minister's Office and especially in the Foreign Ministry. Eventually, official documents managed to turn the massacres by the partisans into something that had never happened. The process ended in 1946 with an image of Yugoslavia as a country that was resolving the nationality question in an exemplary way. This image was shattered not by evidence of the national and minority problems there, but by the Stalin-Tito split and the clash with the Soviet Union. One fruitful subject to investigate would be why the subject of the reprisals against the Hungarians never emerged in 1948–54, the tensest period in relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc.

The Minorities Department had been among the most important at the Prime Minister's Office before 1945, but then it began to decline, despite the fact that it had the extra task of contributing to the peace preparations.²⁴ It has been seen in earlier how the Minorities Department held the reins in the affairs of the Hungarians beyond the country's borders. That also meant that the department could shape the policy of successive Hungarian governments based on a broad range of information. During the coalition period after 1945, the minorities issue became a theatre of party political struggles and demarcation disputes, especially between the communist-influenced Interior Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office. As the question of Hungarians abroad lost significance at government level, so the Minorities Department diminished in importance and produced ever more mundane preparatory and analytical materials. Ödön Pásint, the head of the department, commented bitterly on the reductions in the department after the Paris Peace Treaty had been concluded, in a memorandum to Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy in July 1946. The best specialist officers in the department had been lost and the staff reductions left it unable to do its job. Meanwhile "the situation of the Hungarian community in neighbouring countries has changed greatly for the worse, on the one hand. On the other, the complete absence of minority legal protection at present, and its possible introduction into the peace treaties, set very weighty and urgent tasks, whose neglect or inadequate performance could have the gravest and perhaps irreparable effects on the lives and livelihoods of over three million Hungarians."²⁵

²³ Ž. J. Veselinov, *Az autonóm Vajdaság születése*. [The Making of Autonomous Vojvodina] Novi Sad 1984, 74.

²⁴ According to statistics compiled in June 1946 by Ödön Pásint, head of department, seven of the 14 executive officers, including the South Slav officer, György Borsay-Bauer, were black-listed, i.e. dismissed as politically unreliable. MOL. XIX-A-1-n-"Z"2748-1946. 5.d.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

The Minorities Department's hitherto central sphere of competence connected with the prime minister was broken up among several ministries. Almost every ministry set up its own minorities department, and eventually, in 1947, the department at the Prime Minister's Office was abolished.

When Hungary signed the armistice in Moscow on 20 January 1945 and the Hungarian state formally began its post-1945 history, the country and its neighbours were placed in the Soviet sphere of influence. That placed heavy constraints on the country's sovereignty, not of course for the first time in its history. However, the disjunction of its ethnic and linguistic borders from its political ones remained as it had been since Trianon. The armistice already prescribed that Hungary had to withdraw its forces to its pre-1938 borders and all Hungarian laws and decrees ceased to apply to the territories reannexed between 1938 and 1941. However, a quite different complexion was put on the failure to obtain a revision of the country's borders than the one current before the war. The Small-holders' Party hoped that the linguistic and political borders would be brought closer to each other and that this would be augmented by autonomy for islands of Hungarians further from the border. The communists and the social democrats rejected any form of linguistically or ethnically based territorial revision and attributed no significance either to minority protection based on collective rights. They viewed the problem of the Hungarian community as a question of democracy (or people's democracy), assuming a kind of automatic adjustment. (They amended this stance in the case of Transylvania.) The political parties became involved in serious debates during the peace preparations, mainly about the Hungarian-Slovak border, but they agreed from the outset that it was superfluous and senseless to put forward any territorial claims on Yugoslavia. Agreement was reached at a meeting of the parties on 6 March, 1946, held in the Minorities Department of the Prime Minister's Office, which as mentioned before, was taking part in compiling the materials for the peace preparations. It had been agreed earlier that the question of the Hungarians of Yugoslavia could be taken off the agenda, as their situation was developing in a "fortunate" way. This was all the more the case because "the Hungarian mission in Belgrade, envisaged at the Potsdam Conference, will bring the two countries close together, so that we will be bound by the most cordial relations in terms of nationality policy as well."²⁶ Government work concerning the situation of the South-Country Hungarians altered direction accordingly. A lengthy study entitled "The Development and Events in the Yugoslav-Hungarian Relationship since the Autumn of 1944" was completed on 28 December 1944 by the Minorities Department at the Prime Minister's Office. The study explained, "The forces of the Yugoslav army liberated Bačka in the autumn of 1944 and the majority of the Hungarians had moved out along with the retreating Hungarian troops. Those who had spend years in the mountains and forests returned to Bačka. These people judged the Hungarians by a different yardstick and saw the events of 1941 as excesses committed by the old Hungarian army. Thus very few people were called to account for them.

²⁶ MOL. XIX-A-1-j-"Z"252-1945. 3.d.

"As people's rule became settled in Yugoslavia, the Hungarian community received representation in central power proportionate to its size. The Hungarian schools opened and the Hungarians found themselves in a more favourable situation than they had dared to imagine."²⁷ The study took it as the standard, general view among the Bačka Hungarians that "if the Chetniks instead of the partisans had happened to prevail, no sign of the Hungarian community would have survived in Bačka today."²⁸

If no word was said about the executions, Foreign Minister János Gyöngyösi at least raised the question of ending the internments when he met Colonel Obrad Cicmil, head of the Yugoslav mission at the Allied Control Commission. Cicmil called on Gyöngyösi in his office on 17 September 1945 to enquire about the Hungarian position on the Yugoslav territorial claims against Italy. Gyöngyösi avoided giving a direct reply, whereupon Cicmil informed him that the Yugoslavs would be prepared to make Hungary the biggest concessions on port use and transit traffic. He added that "the Yugoslav government, for its part, is prepared to support Hungary at the peace negotiations and in the preparation of the peace, and apart from that, on any question that does not conflict with Yugoslavia's interests." Gyöngyösi requested that the Yugoslavs release not only Hungarian prisoners of war, but also the civilian Hungarian internees who are not war criminals." Cicmil gave a promise on this, without thinking it worth mentioning to the Hungarian foreign minister that reviews of the cases of internees had commenced several months earlier.²⁹

Among the few protests over the retribution against the Hungarians concerned the case of 42 Szekler settlers who had been taken prisoner by the Yugoslavs, and whom historians until recently thought had simply been shot. György Bodor, on behalf of the Central Cooperative of Völgység Settlers (*Völgységi Telepések Központi Szövetkezete*) appealed to the prime minister on 7 December 1945 to intervene with the Yugoslav allied mission, on behalf of the 42 men from Veternik (Hadikliget), who had been caught while fleeing from Bačka. According to the documents, they were not allowed to go to Hungary even in September 1946. Six of them had died in the meantime in the internment camp at the Bor copper mine.³⁰

Marshal Tito issued a decree on 27 January 1945 instructing the military administration in Vojvodina to hand over to civilian people's committees by 15 February. The explanation given was that the military administration had fulfilled its task and thereafter "would only obstruct the revolutionary changes in such a sensitive multiethnic territory as Vojvodina."

²⁷ MOL. XIX-A-1-n-"Z"79-1945. 3.d.

²⁸ MOL. XIX-J-1-a-IV-108-71/Bé-1946.

²⁹ MOL. XIX-J-1-j-Jug-29/h-5.pol.-1945. 38.d.

³⁰ MOL. XIX-A-1-n-"Z"1011-1945; A-j-XXIII-10817-1946. 2.d. Cseres, 235-236 followed the reminiscences of a Hadikliget Székely, Gábor Albert, in stating that the 42 men had been executed in Subotica. This was taken over by Kasaš, 175.

The matter was put more clearly in *Slobodna Vojvodina*, the one daily paper appearing in Vojvodina at the time. The military administration, it explained, had “basically resolved the German question in Vojvodina, while the Hungarian anti-fascists have accepted that their place is in the people’s liberation movement headed by Comrade Tito.”³¹

So the main condition for acceptance set by the new authorities was not loyalty to the state, but ideological and political identification with the system, although the aim of the two was the same. Either way, every regime, in a period when the national question was handled largely as a border issue, sought guarantees that the minorities would not tend to gravitate outwards, towards the mother country. That was the case in Vojvodina as well, especially in wartime Europe, in a country that had just regained its statehood after being forced to its knees not long before.

Initially, up to the end of the war, Tito offered only one way to prove loyalty to the state: volunteering for the partisan brigade named after Sándor Petőfi, the Hungarian poet. During the decades after 1945, the history of the brigade became a cardinal point in the process of legitimizing the Vojvodina Hungarian community within the Yugoslav system, which meant that its history was falsified. The actual course of events is more prosaic, but no less instructive. The brigade was formed along with Albanian, Italian, German and Czechoslovak units in August 1943 after a political decision, as a way of fleshing out the pan-Yugoslav character of the partisan movement. The Petőfi Brigade was founded in the small village of Slavonski Drenovac in the Slavonian mountains of Croatia, its members being transferred from various other partisan units fighting in the district at the time. It had a strength of about 80, of whom some 60 were Hungarians. Ferenc Kis was appointed commander and Károly Gerő political commissar. The language of command was Hungarian and the partisans wore next to the Red Star badge in their caps a strip of cloth in the Hungarian national colours of red, white and green. According to a report by Ferenc Marosy, the Hungarian minister in Zagreb, a Hungarian flag was obtained from the Hungarian Public Education Association in Croatia during a raid, as the unit did not possess one.³² The brigade was supposed to become a focus for South-Country Hungarians joining to the partisan side, and even for anti-fascist and anti-German forces in Hungary, but it did not meet expectations in this respect. István Varga, a Hungarian communist and veteran of the Spanish Civil War, proposed at Bačka Topola (Báczstopolya) at the beginning of November 1944, during the period of the great reprisals, that volunteer Hungarian partisan units should also be formed in Bačka.³³ The recruiting was relatively successful mainly among the poorer Hungarian peasants in

³¹ *Slobodna Vojvodina*, 1 February 1945.

³² MOL. K-28. ME Kisebbségi o. 1943–R-30933.

³³ On the history of the Petőfi Brigade, see F. Baki, L. Vebel, *Petőfi brigád*. [Petőfi Brigade] Novi Sad 1983; K. Brindza, *Nemirna ravnica*. Stara Moravica 1968; I. Törköly, *Akikért nem szólt a harang. Vajdasági magyar frontharcosok vallomása*. [For Whom the Bell Did Not Toll. Confessions of Vojvodina Hungarian Frontline Fighters] Szabadka 2001.

Bácstopolya and Stara Moravica (Ómoravica), although the district party organization put effort into ensuring that "class-conscious" individuals enrolled in the brigade. This armed unit was also preferred by several hundred Hungarians called up for labour service. On the whole, the Hungarian units were poorly equipped, although that was not specific to them. So the Sándor Petőfi Partisan Brigade consisted of a few volunteers and otherwise of Hungarians who practically speaking had been enlisted. They also crossed the border into Hungary (in the Danube-Tisza region and in Pécs and district, for instance) to perform propaganda tasks. They saw action in the clashes along the River Drava (Dráva), mainly from February 1945 onwards. Their fighting morale was low and desertions occurred. Their greatest test came in heavy combat near Bolman (Bolmány), where more than 30,000 Yugoslav soldiers lost their lives in several months of fighting against the German-Hungarian and Croatian armies, including many members of the Petőfi Brigade. Fierce German resistance was met during the battle for Bolman, where the Petőfi Brigade, now with a strength of about 1,200, suffered 50 dead and 190 wounded in a single day on 6 March.

A report was made about the Petőfi Brigade to the provisional Hungarian government in Debrecen on 16 January 1945. Its author was probably a man who had fled from Bačka having previously held a public position there. About the ostensibly voluntary nature of the brigade, he had this to say: "They either enlist 'voluntarily' or are handled as fascist suspects and sent to do the forced labour obligatory for the South-Country Hungarian community." The brigade commander, speaking at Sombor to the author of the report, during the early stages of organization, said that in a week and a half in command, he had managed to solve somehow the question of quarters and provisioning. "So far we have not received any other equipment than footwear. The four or five weapons available were obtained from Russians for spirits, etc." Interestingly, the author of the report told the provisional government that although he realized the borders would follow the 1938 frontiers, he recommended somehow basing such a South-Country Hungarian unit "on a footing of purely and exclusively Hungarian popular action", to demonstrate how Hungarian people there had put up armed resistance to fascism. That, he went on, would prevent Tito's people using the local Hungarians for their own purposes.³⁴ This idea was no more apposite than the earlier plan of recruiting a Serb defence force among the Bačka Serbs.

The grounds for bringing war criminals to justice was provided by an agreement between the great powers. Proceedings would take place in the country where the crimes had been committed. Hungary was obliged to hand over its war criminals by Point 14 of its armistice agreement. Yugoslavia applied for extradition mainly in the cases of those responsible for the Novi Sad and Šajkaš raids, but there was also a list of several Hungarian politicians that originally included Horthy and Bárdossy. The Yugoslavs chased up the extradition proceedings on several occasions, complaining that the Hungarian government was slow to hand people over. For instance, Captain Lazar Brankov, holding talks mainly on school

³⁴ MOL. XIX-A-1-j-XXIII-112-1945. 21.d.

matters with the Minorities Department of the Prime Minister's Office on 25 October 1945, plainly reproached the Hungarian government for "taking a very bureaucratic position" on the extradition question.³⁵

It is not widely known that the Hungarian government, when formulating its own peace objectives, considered holding a retrial of those responsible for the Novi Sad raid, or working up the trial materials from 1943–44 for foreign propaganda purposes and publishing them as a book. The idea of a retrial was apparently raised by *Szabad Nép*, the communist daily paper, early in July 1945, as a way of "showing the whole world that [the forces of] democracy in Hungary do not identify themselves with the Novi Sad affair." The retrial would also show, according to the paper, that it was the affair of the Germans, not the Hungarians. After the idea had been raised in the newspaper, it was also discussed by the Minorities Department, which supported it, arguing that it would be "better for Hungary to come up" with the whole affair, which would "certainly be one of the most discussed propaganda questions" at the peace conference.³⁶ An opinion was also requested from István Ries, the Social Democratic justice minister, who sent a reply on 16 August 1945. He supported the idea of publishing a popular account of the military trial and indicated that he would soon select someone for the task. Ries wrote to the prime minister, "I think it is in Hungary's interest to make the trial material ... known to the world public and show that retribution for the massacres in Novi Sad and district and restoration of the country's good name before world opinion was an aim also of the last administration, and only the mounting German political influence and the exigencies after 19 March 1944 prevented the criminals from receiving their deserved punishment." However, Ries thought that a retrial could not be considered because of Hungary's extradition obligations under the armistice. For it might give the impression in Yugoslavia "that Hungary wanted to withdraw the criminals from the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav people's court, which was competent according to the place of commitment of the crimes."³⁷ With that, the idea was dropped from the agenda.

In May 1945, members of the Yugoslav interior security organization OZNA, with the help of the Soviet army, rounded up 36 Serbs and Croats taking refuge in Budapest and took them straight to Belgrade, along with members of the Nedić party arrested in Vienna. They included journalists, former employees of the Croatian legation, traders and others.

However, OZNA agents had already appeared in ruined Budapest at the beginning of March 1945, intent on arresting a list of Hungarian war criminals, with the help of the Soviet mission to the Allied Control Commission. They discovered, for instance, that Iván Nagy, the former head of the Hungarian mission in Zagreb and member of the Hungarian Parliament, who had finished his political career in the propaganda department of the Arrow-Cross government, was in hiding around Lake Balaton. Gyula Kramer, former president of the South-

³⁵ MOL. XIX-A-1-n-"Z"813/biz-1945. 2.d.

³⁶ MOL. XIX-A-1-j-XXIII/b-5011-1945. 31.d.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Country Hungarian Public Education Association, was arrested in Budapest, and Elemér Korányi, a Catholic priest and former member of Parliament, in Esztergom. Leó Deák, for instance, gave himself up to the Soviet military authorities in Budapest on 11 March. The OZNA also caught in Budapest Milan L. Popović, the former member of Parliament, Gyula Zombory, the Novi Sad chief of police, the gendarme Lieutenant Colonel Géza Báthory, József Könyöky, the Novi Sad police counsellor, and others. Colonel General Ferenc Feketehalmi-Czeydner, József Grassy and Márton Zöldi, for instance, arrived at the Andrassy Avenue jail in Budapest after being handed to the Soviets by the Americans. Following an application by the Yugoslav mission to the Allied Control Commission, the latter officially requested their extradition from Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, on the grounds that they had already been declared war criminals in Yugoslavia. Although they had already been sentenced to death in Hungary, they were then extradited to Yugoslavia and put on trial again. With Ferenc Szombathelyi, the former chief of staff, a life sentence of penal servitude from the Hungarian people's court was followed by extradition to the authorities in Yugoslavia, in August 1946 under still unexplained circumstances, not long after he had begun to serve his sentence.³⁸

The first big war-crimes trial of Hungarian politicians, police and civilian officials started in Novi Sad on 20 October 1945. The main accused were Leó Deák, the former lord lieutenant, Milan L. Popović, Gyula Kramer, Géza Báthory, Gyula Zombory, József Tallián, József Könyöki and Péter Knézi. They were all sentenced to death by the military court of the Third Army, apart from Knézi, who was prosecuted because he had been an administrator appointed over Serb companies. The sentences were carried out in Žabalj and Novi Sad.

The deciding factors in all the war-crimes trials were the confessions of the accused and the testimony of the witnesses. Popović, for instance, was interrogated for nine days, as was Deák for a similar period. None of them admitted to the main charge of taking an active part in the raid and reprisals, which were the war crimes, so that the cases had to rest on the testimony of the witnesses.

The trial of Ferenc Szombathelyi and accomplices, which began on 22 October 1946, raised considerable interest in Yugoslavia. The sentences were delivered on 30 October or according to other sources, on 31. The accused alongside Szombathelyi were Lieutenant General Ferenc Feketehalmi-Czeydner, Major General József Grassy, Gendarme Lieutenant General Lajos Gál, Gendarme Captain Márton Zöldi, Ernő Bajsai, deputy lord lieutenant of Bačka, Miklós Nagy, former mayor of Novi Sad, Ferenc Bajor, city commander of Novi Sad, and Pál Perepatics, former merchant and intelligence officer. Their trial was also used for political purposes before the parliamentary elections in the Serbian Republic.³⁹ According to the charges, Szombathelyi was sentenced to death because he was responsible,

³⁸ *Ibid.* XXIII/b-3227-1946. 73.d; *Szombathelyi Ferenc visszaemlékezése 1945*. [Recollections by Ferenc Szombathelyi, 1945] Introduced and annotated by P. Gosztonyi, Budapest 1990, 15.

³⁹ MOL. Mikrofilm 12405/4; *Slobodna Vojvodina*, 24-31 October 1946; Kasaš, 207.

as commander in chief of the Hungarian army allied with the Germans, for the murders and robberies committed by the advancing Hungarian army, and for the many death sentences by the chief of staff's so-called flying court, which had been designed to strangle the people's liberation movement and instrumental in organizing the raids. Szombathelyi in particular was accused, in the case of the judgements by the summary chief of staff's courts, of "not exercising" his prerogatives of mercy, for instance in not reprieving Svetozar Marković Toza, the Vojvodina communist leader. An ethnic Hungarian, Károly Gyetvai, was appointed as the prosecutor in the trial, for political reasons. According to the Vojvodina press, "a storm of applause broke out" among the audience in court when the death sentences were pronounced, along with cries of "Long live the people's court, long live justice, death to war criminals" etc.⁴⁰ Feketehalmy-Czeydner, Grassy and Zöldi were sentenced to be hanged in public and the others to be shot by firing squad in public and have their whole estates confiscated. Feketehalmy-Czeydner's sentence was carried out on November 4 in Žabalj and those of the others on the same day in Novi Sad.

⁴⁰ *Slobodna Vojvodina*. 5 November 1946. It is still not known how many death and other sentences the Yugoslav people's courts passed.

*Passport and Visa Policy of the Kádár regime**

PÉTER BENCSIK



Like all communist states, post-war Hungary tried to hinder its citizens from crossing the border. In this matter, these states really made up a 'bloc'. In the early 1950s no difference was made even between travels to communist countries and Western ones. There were more types of travel documents, including Diplomatic Passport, Foreign Service Passport, Service Passport, Visitors' Passport, Collective Passport, Emigration Passport etc. The use of most types of these passports was limited; only Visitors' and/or Collective Passports were available for a normal citizen, at least theoretically. The number of passports issued was rather small. These circumstances started to change some months before the 1956 revolution. From that time, travel to the Eastern-Bloc countries was made much easier by the introduction of the so-called "Travel Permit" or "Inset" (passport sheet). The name indicates that it was used with another document, the identity card. Other new passports were the Danube Shipping Pass and the Seaman's Passport.¹ Visitors' Passport was gradually transformed into "private" Passport. This was an important change because it indicates that until mid-1956 passports could be obtained almost exclusively for familiar reasons, e.g. to visit relatives abroad. The applicants also had to produce an invitation letter. From then on, people were able to apply for a passport for other reasons like tourism or with no reason at all. But from as early as 1948 no public rules were published regarding passports and travelling and this situation remained unchanged until 1961.

Passport policy of the Kádár-regime

After Soviet tanks suppressed the revolution, János Kádár (1912–1989) came to power in November 1956. The new regime had to face a very serious problem in

* This study was prepared with the financial support of OTKA. Project No.: D 38488. I did not change the Hungarian names in archival and other references and abbreviations for an easier identification. The list of these references and abbreviations can be found at the end of this study.

¹ MOL XIX-B-10-1956-V-76.

the country's western and southern borders. Tens of thousands of people fled first to Austria and later to Yugoslavia. This was possible because of some pre-revolution events: the Iron Curtain was removed in 1955; much more passports were issued and passport-control became less strict in 1956. Moreover, the Border Guard became ineffective for some months due to the revolution. This is why Kádár's first initiatives about the passport- and border-question resulted in returning to the pre-1955 strictness. The Border Guard was quickly reorganized and its service was remilitarized. Trains were again stopped at the border and escorted by border-guardsman (equipped again with submachine guns). Passports were again taken away from passengers and examined in a separate room. Passport controls became very strict and lasted for a long time. However, in late 1956 and early 1957, with the disintegration of the ÁVH border guarding activities, and before Kádár reorganized the Border Guard, more than 200,000 Hungarians fled abroad (primarily to Austria) across the still unguarded borders. The Kádár regime interpreted it as illegal departure, but for political reasons promised impunity to those who left illegally before 31 January 1957 but announced their intention to return before 31 March.² This amnesty was related only to illegal border-crossing; another "crimes" committed by such returners were punished. This is why people coming home from Austria and Yugoslavia were settled first in a "filter-camp" in Győr and Szeged.³ From December 1957 returners were put under tighter control at the border but the camps were abolished.⁴

The first years of the Kádár regime are characterised by reprisals (hard dictatorship). Passport regulations were not made public at all, while at the same time the border traffic significantly rose. What is more interesting, new measures had not been made and the older rules from the Rákosi-era remained in effect until 1961. A valid plea for a passport had to contain several certificate and papers. These included citizenship-, birth- and marriage certificates, photos countersigned by the police. But one also had to prove the need of his or her journey (invitation letter, medical certificate, death certificate of a relative who lived abroad etc.) These papers were not enough for a private journey – the approval of the employer had to be attached. Emigrants had to produce a tax-certificate, a so-called pre-visa from the country they wished to emigrate and they had to prove they did not leave behind any dependents.⁵ The authorities checked the applicant's criminal record and asked the opinion of other departments. The decision was made by the Committee for Foreign Relations (Külföldi Kapcsolatok Bizottsága, KKB).

The validity of passports was limited not only in time but also territorially. In most cases it included one or two countries and the passport could not be validated for additional ones. The use of the travel documents was also restricted by

² Edict No. 27. of 1956. TRHGY 1956, 66, and Edict No. 24. of 1957, TRHGY 1957, 170.

³ 0579/szolg. – 1957 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1957-V-35.

⁴ Order No. 58/1957 BM, MOL XIX-B-10-1957-45.

⁵ 0759.597/1952 ÁVH HKB, MOL XIX-B-10-1952-V-21.

the so called "permit for going abroad" (actually an exit visa).⁶ It was unnecessary for the first use of the Visitors' /Private Passport; any other journey was possible only with the permit.⁷

Pleas for passports had to be handed in the local police authorities, except in Budapest, where the Passport Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs arranged this task. The Passport Department was also the issuing authority of all passports, except Diplomatic and Foreign Service Passports (issued at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs) and also the "Insets" (issued at the county branches of the Home Affairs Ministry).

The first attempt to re-regulate the passport and visa policy of Hungary under Kádár was made in the session of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) on 18 October 1960.⁸ The Politburo agreed that new measures had to be worked out and published. Although the number of Hungarians travelling abroad was higher than in the neighbouring communist countries, the Politburo finally agreed that the issuance of passports and visas must increase. The first public measures on passports were issued on 31 March 1961.⁹ They did not bring new rules only summarised those already in use. They are still of great importance; being the first public measures since 1948. Although this regulation was very short and did not clear many questions for the travellers-to-be, it was a move towards reform and liberalization. From that time on, brand new passport regulation were issued every 8 to 10 years. The next regulation in 1970 was not only a decree but also an edict,¹⁰ but the first law on passports appeared only in 1989. From 1970, every new regulation was made at three levels (edict, decree of the Council of Ministers and decree of the Minister for Home Affairs).

The 1961 governmental measure annulled the old law on passports (Law No. VI. of 1903) which was in use only in theory that time. This decree ordered that passports could be issued by the Ministers for Home and Foreign Affairs. The decree 1/1961 of the Minister for Home Affairs contained the details. The issuance and renewal of passports was the task of the Passport Department, except for the "Insets" which could be issued at county police stations. Almost all requests had to be handed in the Passport Department, except for Visitors' or Private Passports

⁶ This kind of exit visas were not real visas, because visas were issued to foreign citizens. These permits were given to Hungarians. However, its role was the same as real exit visas and I am going to mention it as exit visa.

⁷ 0759.597/1952 ÁVH HBK, MOL XIX-B-10-1952-V-21. Some types of passports were valid for one travel only, e.g. the Collective Passport, the Emigration Passport and the "Inset". These were withdrawn on crossing the border.

⁸ MOL M KS 288. f. 5/205. őe.

⁹ Decree No. 10/1961 Korm. TRHGy 1961, 206-207, and Decree No. 1/1961. BM, TRHGy 1961, 425-426.

¹⁰ Edict: Hungarian "törvényerejű rendelet"; literally a "Decree with a force of a law" or simply a "Law decree". Edicts were issued by the Presidium of the People's Republic and substituted the laws which were very few due to the fact that the Parliament' activity was limited in communist Hungary.

and of course the Insets. Private Passports were valid for one single year but were renewable. Collective Passports and the Insets were valid for one journey. Emigration Passports were valid for 5 to 6 months but only with a special certificate called Border Transfer.¹¹ A new kind of passport, the Consular Passport was introduced in 1962.¹² In fact, it was the renaming of an old passport named "Passport for Hungarian Citizens Living Abroad".

The first public regulation for passports was not a complete one. The most important question remained unknown to the public. Namely who was entitled to obtain a passport and who was not. A secret resolution of the government was made in 1961, according to which, those who were previously or currently convicted, who were under criminal proceedings and even those whose journey "violated the interest of the country" were not entitled to obtain a passport. Another secret resolution in 1966 created new barriers: journeys to the West were possible every two years for visiting relatives and every three years for other reasons. For private journeys, the political and moral behaviour of the applicants had to be considered. Finally, those who had relatives who had left Hungary illegally were not entitled to get a passport. As these rules were not public, the resolutions of rejected passport-requests did not contain any explanation for the denial.¹³

Between 1961 and 1970, there were some slight modifications in the passport rules. The requests for passports were made easier in 1964. Insets and Private Passports for European communist countries could be applied at the local level, town and district police stations. The validity of passports was extended to two years, however they were still only for a single journey and a new exit visa was needed for further trips. Applications for Collective and Emigration Passports were made possible even at the county police stations and the deadline of judgement was considerably shortened to 30 days instead of 60 (in the event of emigration, 60 days instead of 90). However, those who lost their passports could only obtain a new one a year later with a very few exceptions.¹⁴

The use of Insets was made easier in the 1960s. Insets valid for Czechoslovakia and/or Poland were extended to one-year validity and more journeys from 1964. New journeys with this Inset were possible with a new exit visa¹⁵. This advantage was introduced also for Bulgaria in 1964 and for East Germany in 1965. The new

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Gy. Nagy, *Magyarország határforgalmat ellenőrző szervezetének, a szervezet feladatrendszerének, alkalmazott módszereinek változása 1945–1991 között*. [Changing of the tasks, methods and organization of Hungary's border traffic control] Ph.D. dissertation, ZMKA 1993, 1, 70, and 2, 30.

¹³ Resolutions No. 3.082/1961 Korm. (MOL XIX-J-1-j-29/b-003528/1-1961 KüM.) and 3.215/1966 Korm. See K. Persa, *Igazgatásrendészeti Füzetek. Útlevelelrendészet*. [Administrative Papers. Passport Surveillance] Budapest 1991, 1, 13–14. A detailed case on denied passport application can be found in TH O-11027, in a file on the group called "Hírmondók" (News-tellers).

¹⁴ Decree No. 6/1963. BM, TRHGy 1963, p. 206–207.

¹⁵ 019/1964. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1964-V-3, and MOL XIX-B-10-1966-V-34.

Insets were available at most local police stations.¹⁶ Travellers could use the Insets even at frontier stations open for close border traffic to Czechoslovakia.¹⁷ What is more, these stations were made available to cross even with passports for the citizens of both countries from 1967.¹⁸ Applications for the most frequently used types of travel documents – the Inset, the Private and the Collective Passport – were made possible even at Hungary's biggest travel company, IBUSZ.¹⁹

In 1964, the following travel documents were in use: Diplomatic, Foreign Service, Service, Private, Consular, Emigration and Collective Passports, the Inset (Travel Permit), Homecoming Certificate, Danube Shipping Passport and Identity and Travel Card (homeless passport).²⁰ The use of the above mentioned documents first appeared in a public measure in 1966, e.g. Shipping Passport and the Homecoming Certificate. The former was the official document of not only the shippers but also some waterworks-workers. This passport – unlike the others – was valid for five years, but its territorial validity was limited. Homecoming Certificate was issued abroad for Hungarian citizens, who did not have any valid (Consular or other) Passport and whose return to Hungary was allowed. Pleas for this certificate had to be handed in any Hungarian foreign representation, but the decision was made by the Passport Department. This document was valid only for returning to Hungary.²¹

An entirely new passport regulation was prepared in 1969–1970 after the Politburo discussed the subject in September 1969 and decided to issue new measures including an edict and two decrees.²² It was the first time when an edict (Edict No. 4 of 1970) was made on passports and the second regulation on this subject in the Kádár-era. The importance of this edict is in its §3, which stipulates that every Hungarian citizen has the right to have a passport and travel abroad provided he or she satisfied the conditions determined by legal measures. Details, however, were regulated by decrees of the government and the Ministry for Home Affairs. The edict listed the types of travel documents, which were unchanged from 1962.²³

The governmental measure (Decree No. 4/1970 Korm.) extended the validity of passports to five years, but exit visas were not repealed. The restriction that passport applications had to be judged by employers (by educational institutions in the case of students and by a representative organisation in the case of a self-employed person) was very important. The decree determined who were not en-

¹⁶ Telegraphic directions Nr. 39/100, and Nr. 6, MOL XIX-B-10-1966-V-34.

¹⁷ 0769/Hdm. – 1964. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1964-VI-5.

¹⁸ 3041/1967. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1967-VI-17, also can be found in MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-45.

¹⁹ J. Czuczor, *Útleveél- és vízumismeretek*. [Passport and visa rules] Budapest 1968, 1–13; see also Klsz. 0990/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-48.

²⁰ *Magyar útiokmányok érvényességére vonatkozó szabályok*. [Rules concerning the validity of Hungarian travel documents] Klsz. 0751/1964 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1964-V-31.

²¹ Decree No. 6/1966 BM, TRHGY 1966, 264.

²² MOL M KS 288. f. 5/499. őe.

²³ Edict No. 4 of 1970, TRHGY 1970, 53–55.

titled to get a passport, which was also of great importance. It was the first time that these conditions – which were extremely strict – had become public. Those who endangered the safety of the state, who travelled to countries considered enemies of socialism, who were under criminal proceedings, who were under police supervision, who travelled to visit persons who left Hungary illegally (and anyone who had such relative was suspected to travel for this reason), and who did not have the money for the travel could not have a passport. Other groups could be prohibited from travelling abroad for five years, including those who abused their passports, or only lost it, etc.²⁴ The passport issuing authorities had no right to consider the circumstances and those applicants who lied under the denying paragraphs did not get the passport. Still, it is important that the authorities had to justify the reasons of every denial.²⁵

It was also a novelty that the private passports could be issued not only for (official) business trips and visiting but also for organised package tours, individual tourist trips (with the hard currency exchange permission of the currency authority) or for study trips, employment or medical treatment. These conditions were only applicable for western journeys, as trips to five socialist countries had been possible with the Inset several times a year. However, to other countries it was possible to travel bi-annually (provided the inviting person fulfilled the financial conditions) and with the purpose of tourism once every three years. Emigration or settling down abroad was even more difficult: only people aged 55 years or more and those who travelled due to family reunion were able to settle down legally (supposing they did not have public debt or any dependents staying in Hungary). Men of military age had to have a permit of the Ministry of Defense, too. Emigrants got Emigration Passport and so lost their Hungarian nationality; others obtained Consular Passport and kept their citizenship.²⁶

The implementing decree No. 2/1970 BM regulated the application and issuing procedures, and also the contents of the passports. Area, town and district police stations were able to issue Insets and Collective Passports for five socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland and Romania). The county police stations issued Insets for Yugoslavia and the USSR, Private and Collective Passports to all other countries; all other passports were the issued by the Passport Department.²⁷ Still, it was a measure of decentralization, as journeys to the West were judged at the county level. The applications for the passport had to be handed in personally (except at official trips) at the issuing authority. There were many annexes to be attached to the application form.²⁸ Passports could be

²⁴ Decree No. 4/1970. Korm, TRHGY 1970, 184–186.

²⁵ Persa 1991, 1, 15.

²⁶ Decree No. 4/1970. Korm, TRHGY 1970, 184–186.

²⁷ Decree No. 2/1970. BM, TRHGY 1970, 315–318. Diplomatic and Foreign Service Passports were issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

²⁸ *Ibid.* To be attached: two photos, a biography, opinion (and not approval, as it had been) of the employer, permission of the military officials, max. 3 month old invitation

used for a single trip only, except those which had more than one exit visa. If they had not, a new permission (exit visa) was needed for the next journey. The application procedure for a new exit visa was almost the same as that for a new passport. Exit visa contained the reason and the duration of the journey. The deadline of issuance decreased again to 14 or 30 days, depending on the type of passport. All Insets were made valid for a year – they could be issued for one or more states. However, renewal was not possible.²⁹ The passport rules were summarised by the leader of the Passport Department also.³⁰

The implementing decree had been modified several times. From 1972, Insets were withdrawn. Instead of them the "Red" or "Eastern" Passport (a private passport valid for five socialist countries, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany) was introduced. Older Private Passports had soon become the "Blue" or "Western" Passport. The Red Passport could be validated for all the five countries or only for one of them; it was shown by the exit visa stamped in the passport. However, its territorial validity could not be extended to any other country.³¹ Originally, the Red Passport contained one exit visa but as soon as in January 1972 five exit visas were granted. At the same time, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia joined the five other socialist countries, but with only one exit visa at the same time.³² Also from 1972, the Passport Department was relieved from the duty of dealing with applications for Collective and Blue Passports of the Budapest citizens. Instead, the Budapest Metropolitan Police was charged with this task.³³

Although the Red Passport was valid for Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union even from 1972, the first public measure to mention it appeared only in 1976. Applications for this passport had to be arranged within 14 days.³⁴ In the meantime, Danube Shipping Passport was renamed Service Passport for Sailors.³⁵

Passport-right was again re-regulated in November 1978 in an edict and two decrees. These new measures were again decided in the meeting of the Politburo in March 1978.³⁶ The Edict No. 20 of 1978 made no significant changes, with the only exception that it did not refer to the Consular and Emigration Passports which were withdrawn at this time.³⁷ The Decree No. 53/1978 of the Council of Ministers made more significant changes. From then on, no difference was made among the reasons of the journey at the private passports. However, Private

letter for visiting trips, medical or school certificate in case of treatments or study trips, permission of the currency authority in case of individual tourist trip.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ 75–26–11/1970 BM. (Direction No. 01 of the leader of the Passport Department), TH 1.11.1. ÁBMHT, box 8.

³¹ Decree No. 6/1971 BM, TRHGY 1971, 604.

³² Circular No. 28–126/1972 BM, TH 1.11.1. ÁBMHT, box 8.

³³ Decree No. 6/1971 BM, TRHGY 1971, 604.

³⁴ Decree No. 7/1976 BM, TRHGY 1976, 405–406.

³⁵ 099/1975 HOP, MOL XIX–B–10–1975–V–3.

³⁶ MOL M KS 288. f. 5/741. őe.

³⁷ Edict No. 20 of 1978, TRHGY 1978, 327.

Passports could be issued for private and official trips and for settling down abroad. The reasons for denying the issuance of the passports had been refined. Some automatic denials had been changed to a possibility upon the consideration of the local issuing authority. These included the following: previously convicted persons, people under police supervision; anyone who wanted to travel to a person who left Hungary illegally not more than 5 years earlier or if he or she was liable for his or her relative's illegal departure; finally, whose defence could not be assured abroad. The range of those who were forbidden to travel abroad for five years did not change. However, losing a passport did not result in such prohibition.³⁸ These limitations together were so severe that they cast doubt on the right mentioned in the edict, that "every Hungarian citizen has the right to travel abroad". The passport-issuing authorities (i.e. local and county police stations) were granted discreditory power to deny the right to travel abroad. The limitation of the number of annual travel to the west – what remained unchanged – was again contrary to the right to travel and even to the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, which Hungary signed and ratified.³⁹

The implementing decree of 6/1978 BM. listed four travel documents in addition to those defined in the edict. Some of these were used even earlier, like the Border Crossing Certificate (used by officials at border-meetings with the neighbouring countries), the Border Crossing Permit (used in the close border traffic) and the Homecoming Certificate. The only new travel document introduced here was the Emigration Permit, which was actually a signet stamped in a Private Passport and replaced the withdrawn Emigration and Consular Passports. Passport issuing authorities did not change (only foreign representations got broader rights). No change was made in the procedure of the application either, including the process of emigration. The validity of Private Passports remained five years; the territorial validity could be a state or a continent but never the whole world. Passports still contained the description of the holder. There was no change in the issuing deadlines and in the use of exit visas.⁴⁰

Members of organised package tours to the Soviet Union were also equipped with the Red Passport instead of Collective Passport. From 1 May 1979, multiple exit visa was introduced for the five socialist countries instead of the five separate ones (excluding Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union). It also meant, that the number of travel to these countries became unlimited.⁴¹

The comparison of the 1970 and 1978 passport regulations yields interesting facts. The difference between them is negligible. It seems that, contrary to some noticeable liberalization, the 1978 measures meant to hide the single element that did change, but *negatively*. Namely the restriction of the right to settle down

³⁸ Decree No. 53/1978 MT, TRHGY 1978, 476–477.

³⁹ W. Sólyom-Fekete, *Travel Abroad and Emigration under New Rules Adopted by the Government of Hungary*, Washington D.C 1979, 6–9.

⁴⁰ Decree No. 6/1978 BM, TRHGY 1978, 580–583.

⁴¹ Direction No. 26/1978 BM and Measure No. 8/1978 ORFK, cited by 00144/1979 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1979-V-4.

abroad. Instead of emigration, much more emphasis is given on "settling down abroad". This slight change meant that it was not possible to lose Hungarian citizenship by going to live abroad, as the right of emigration was changed to the right of "settling down abroad". According to the Citizenship Law of that time, acquiring a new citizenship did not mean the loss of the Hungarian Citizenship. And if someone was officially a Hungarian citizen and his (or her) "activities abroad do not meet with the approval of the Hungarian Government, his passport may be revoked at any time. If he returns for a visit to Hungary, he may be detained there simply by denying to him the exit visa necessary to leave the country. (...) Thus a Hungarian emigrant must choose either to refrain from any activity the Government of Hungary may regard as impairing or jeopardizing the important interests of the present regime, or, failing this, must by all means refrain from visiting Hungary again."⁴²

By 1979, although not mentioned in either measures of 1978, a new type of passport was introduced, called Passport for Hungarian Citizens Living Abroad. This was necessary because the Emigration and the Consular Passports were withdrawn.⁴³ It also supports the contention that restriction of legal emigration was one of the main aims of the 1978 regulation. The first public measure which mentioned this new type of passport was issued in 1982. In fact, a similar passport with the same name had been in use before 1962.

The possibility of an annual trip to the west from 1982 meant a considerable liberalisation. (Until then it was possible to travel every other year for the purpose of visiting and once every three years for the purpose of tourism. In the same year it was not possible to travel as tourist and later that year for visiting. Thus in a six-year period a maximum of five trips were allowed.) From 1982 we could travel every year and did not even need an invitation letter to prove the purpose of the visit.⁴⁴ Those who had hard currency accounts were entitled to travel to the west without having a separate hard currency allowance. Issuance of Service Passports (including Sailors') and Border Crossing Certificates became the duty of the Budapest Metropolitan Police instead of the Passport Department.⁴⁵

Further modifications were issued in August 1982 but they came into force only on 1 January 1984. The Edict No. 19 of 1982 withdrew the Service Passport for Sailors, the Collective, the Red Private and the Foreign Service Passport. It was the first public measure which mentioned the Passport for Hungarian Citi-

⁴² Sólyom-Fekete 1979: 47–56. The citation is from page 51. Later on the author accuses the Hungarian government that the disguised prohibition of emigration is only because Hungary wants to get economic advantages from the USA. *Ibid.* 58–62.

⁴³ A magyar útiokmányok ellenőrzésének és kezelésének szabályai. (Rules of controlling of Hungarian travel documents) Klsz. 0546/1/1979 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1979-V-15.

⁴⁴ Decree No. 60/1981 MT, TRHGY 1981, 297.

⁴⁵ Decree No. 4/1981 BM, TRHGY 1981, 435–436. Issuing of Private Passport for settling down abroad, Passport of Hungarians living abroad, Homecoming Certificate and Emigration Permit remained the exclusive right of the Passport Department.

zens Living Abroad.⁴⁶ Instead of the Foreign Service Passport, the old Service Passport was utilized. Private Passport could be issued for service trips for those who were not entitled to have a Service Passport.⁴⁷ Another decree of the Minister for Home Affairs only summarised the changes made in the preceding four years.⁴⁸ With the new rules, an entirely new set of passports was issued after 1984. These travel documents differed only in their colours: Diplomatic Passports were brown, Service Passports were red and the Private Passports were blue. It also meant, that the two different types of Private Passports ceased to exist. However, Red Passports issued in 1983 still remained valid for five years. The new blue Private Passport had a permanent exit visa stamped in it, what was valid for the five (or the seven) European socialist countries for an unlimited number of travels. Some "wrongdoers" got this exit visa only for one occasion. For other countries, exit visas were given on a separate sheet of paper. For most cases, it was valid for one journey only.⁴⁹ Men of military age needed a permission from the Military Replacement Headquarters for journeys which exceeded 30 days.⁵⁰

The last comprehensive regulation on passport-question in the Kádár-era was issued in 1987. By this time, border traffic had increased considerably as Hungary became more open to the west. More and more Hungarian travelled to Western Europe and it meant a lot of work for the passport-authorities. The economic crisis started around 1980. By this time, the standard of living decreased and this was a vital point after the 1956 revolution: the society accepted Kádár only because he promised well-being. Maybe this is why the regime decided to open western borders to travellers. This move was presumably only for improving the public feeling.

The Edict No. 25. of 1987 introduced the so-called World Passport. From 1988, (almost) every Hungarian citizen was entitled to obtain a passport valid for all countries of the world. The exit visas were abolished. This new Private Passport was also useable for business/service purposes. All other types of passports remained the same. Modified rules came to force in the question of settling down abroad. The age limit of 55 years was repealed, but the applicant had to certify he or she had the financial resources to resettle. According to the Edict, the right to travel abroad was fundamental and could only be limited exceptionally. The Edict lists what kind of persons are not entitled to have passport at all; in which cases the issuing authority must decide to issue a passport or not; who can get only a passport with limited validation; and finally, who can be excluded from travelling

⁴⁶ Edict No. 19. of 1982, TRHGY 1982, 219.

⁴⁷ Decree No. 38/1982. MT, TRHGY 1982, 353–354.

⁴⁸ Decree No. 8/1982. BM, TRHGY 1982, 625–627.

⁴⁹ Az 1984. január 1-től kiadásra kerülő magyar útiokmányok ellenőrzésének és kezelésének szabályai [Rules of controlling of Hungarian travel documents issued from 1 January 1984], 0269/14/1983. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1983-V-4, and *Dokumentáció az 1984. január 1-től érvényben levő új magyar útlevélekről* [Documentation on new Hungarian passports valid from 1 January 1984], D.ny.sz. 13-456/83, *ibid*.

⁵⁰ Decree No. 8/1983. BM, TRHGY 1983, 371–372. See also the modified and updated 1978 measures in TRHGY 1984, 813–819.

abroad for a maximum five-year long period.⁵¹ Critically, the limitations did not refer to financial clauses, because the right to have a passport and the right to travel abroad were separated from each other. The latter became to the competence of the Financial Ministry. Passport authorities did not have to examine the financial conditions of the journeys and issuing passports became easier and quicker.⁵²

The Edict was accompanied by only an implementing decree of the Minister for Home Affairs. Exit visas did not disappear entirely, because the Passport for Hungarian Citizens Living Abroad and the Emigration Permit remained valid. Passport Department became an inspecting body and a forum for appeals; it was not entitled to issue passports. The county police stations and the Budapest Metropolitan Police had the duty to issue Homecoming Certificates and passports for settling down abroad. The universal Private Passport was issued by town and district police stations. Applicants had to fill in an application form and the only attachment needed was two photos.⁵³ Thanks to the new regulations, the number of passport applications and the border traffic to Austria increased at a large scale from 1988. Moreover, the proportion of denied applications fell considerably.⁵⁴ Most Hungarian citizen could travel to the west for the first time and "shopping tourism" began in Austria. It also meant that huge sums of hard currency left the country contributing to the economic crisis of the country.

The "close border traffic"

Close border traffic is a special type of international wandering. It is a temporary one like tourism but originally it was similar to emigration in one vital point, that is, it was motivated by working abroad. This phenomenon could only occur close to the borders (hence the name, *close border traffic*): the 15–20 km wide frontier zones of neighbouring states took place in this exchange. In the beginning, close border traffic was related to the so-called dual landowners, i.e. those who had holdings at both sides of the border. The importance of the close border traffic increased after the Treaty of Trianon, when many estates were cut into two by the new borders. After 1945, close border traffic soon died and dual holdings were exchanged between the neighbouring states. The only exception was Czechoslovakia, with which an agreement was signed in 1952. Dual landownership ceased to exist even here, but for family reunions and official trips, temporary

⁵¹ Edict No. 25 of 1987, TRHGY 1987, 246–248.

⁵² Decree No. 79/1987 MT. and 84/1987 PüM, TRHGY 1987, 432, and 1030–1033. See also Persa 1991, 1, 18.

⁵³ Decree No. 3/1987. BM, TRHGY 1987, 576–581. Other certificates were needed for the Service Passport, the Passport for Hungarian Citizens Living Abroad, the Emigration Permit and the exit permit for the latter two documents.

⁵⁴ In May 1988 the number of passport applications exceeded the whole 1987 year. The proportion of denied applications was 0,5% in the first half of 1987 and only 0,2% in the first half of 1988. Almost 50% of denials were connected with convicted persons. See TH 1.11.6. Papers of III/III Csoportfőnökség (Group directorate), box 11. (In 1969, denials reached 1,4%, see TH 1.11.10. AFTCS, box 170).

border crossing permits were easy to obtain. From 1955, negotiations started about the re-introduction of close border traffic with Romania⁵⁵ and Yugoslavia.⁵⁶ However, the old agreement with Czechoslovakia was also disputed as both sides wanted to extend the frontier zone and make crossings easier.⁵⁷ Still before the 1956 revolution, an agreement was reached with even the Soviet Union on close border traffic.⁵⁸

These negotiations were stopped or had not yet begun when János Kádár seized power. The neighbouring countries were afraid that the revolution would spread to their territories and withdrew from the negotiations. There were some severe restrictions imposed in Hungarian-Czechoslovak border traffic; after the "normalization of the situation" Hungary criticized Czechoslovakia for still maintaining the restrictions in April 1957,⁵⁹ but these were finally lifted only in November 1958.⁶⁰

Romania did not even negotiate about close border traffic. Hungary had the same attitude towards Austria. However, if Austria had insisted on the subject, Hungary would have agreed with strict conditions. Yugoslavia also showed intention to agree.⁶¹ Real negotiations were carried out only with Czechoslovakia.⁶² Although the delegations signed an agreement, it came into force only in 1961, just like the Hungarian-Soviet agreement.⁶³ In the latter case, a new agreement was reached on 17 March 1961 on the "simplified border crossing of the people living near the Soviet-Hungarian border". The traffic started on 10 July that year.⁶⁴ The agreement made it possible for inhabitants of 25 Hungarian and 31 Soviet villages to cross the border without passport. A maximum of 7 day stay was available on every occasion.⁶⁵ This form of crossing was called simplified border crossing in the whole Kádár-era but actually it was close border traffic. It was rather difficult to get a permission for "simplified" crossing: only birth, marriage, severe illness, death etc. of a close relative were reasons to apply for a permit. Naturally, an invitation letter or any other certificate to prove the reason of

⁵⁵ 0104/szolg. – 1955 BM HBK, MOL XIX-B-10-1955-V-93.

⁵⁶ 01801/ szolg. – 1955. BM HBK, MOL XIX-B-10-1955-V-58.

⁵⁷ 0614/szolg. – 1955 BM HBK, MOL XIX-B-10-1955-V-77. and 01730/Szolg. – 1955 BM HBK, MOL XIX-B-10-1955-VI-22. On the negotiations between the two countries, see 01551/Szolg. – 1956. BM HP, MOL XIX-B-10-1956-V-14, and 01503/Szolg. – 1956, MOL XIX-B-10-1956-VI-16.

⁵⁸ 01519/Pkh. – 1956 BM HP, MOL XIX-B-10-1956-VI-20 and 22.

⁵⁹ 0981/Jogi – 1957 MNK HP, MOL XIX-B-10-1957-V-8.

⁶⁰ 03740/Hdm. – 1958. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1958-VI-21.

⁶¹ Romania: 0235/Pk. – 1958. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1958-VI-28; Austria: 01892/Hdm. – 1958, HOP, *ibid.* No. 100; Jugoszlávia: 0811/szolg. – 1958. HOP, *ibid.* No. 37.

⁶² See the text of the draft in: 0508/Hdm. – 1959. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1959-VI-16, negotiations in Prague: 01479/Hdm. – 1959, *ibid.* No. 19, a newer draft: 02921/Hdm. – 1959. HOP, *ibid.* No. 59.

⁶³ 03339/Hdm. – 1960. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1960-VI-26.

⁶⁴ 02231/Hdm. – 1961. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1961-V-2.

⁶⁵ Report without registry number, MOL XIX-B-10-1961-VI-38.

journey was needed. Applications had to be handed in the local border guard unit, but the decision was made by both the Hungarian and the Soviet Border Representative. Border crossing was possible only by daylight, with ID and border crossing permit. Children under 16 could travel only with their parents.⁶⁶

This agreement was supposed to be provisional, but later it was prolonged from year to year.⁶⁷ Only 2,000 people travelled to the neighbouring country during the first four years of the "simplified" border crossing. Later discussions on enlarging this traffic in 1965 and also in 1969 were fruitless.⁶⁸ Again and again, they rejected an enlargement of the frontier zone to 15 km.⁶⁹ Not surprisingly traffic decreased around 1970. Simplified crossing was agreed again in 1977⁷⁰ and even in 1985 in Moscow. According to the latter one, 62 settlements from each side were entitled to participate in it. It was also possible by then to travel for medical treatment or public festivals near the border. Regular permits were introduced named Border Crossing Permit. It was valid for 5 years, but only in theory: an exit visa was necessary for every new journey. Officially stamped invitation letters still remained in use.⁷¹

After long negotiations⁷² an agreement was signed with Czechoslovakia in October 1962 in Prague. A frontier zone of 15 km (including towns and cities) was determined. People living on this territory could get Single and Permanent Border Crossing Permits. The single permit was valid for a five-day trip and was obtainable once a year for official or family businesses. Permanent permits were used by employees working in the neighbouring frontier zone. It was valid for 12 months, for unlimited number of crossings and a maximum of six-day stay abroad each time. This permit was achievable only by demand of the employer. It was valid only through one crossing point and in the listed settlements abroad. Leaving the frontier zone to the inner parts of the neighbouring country was forbidden.⁷³

⁶⁶ 01462/Pk. – 1961. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1961-VI-24. Border crossing was soon limited, it was possible only on Mondays and Wednesdays between 10 and 12 a.m. See 03791/1961 HOP, *ibid.* No. 37.

⁶⁷ Agreement for 1962: see under 0559/1962 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1961-VI-20.

⁶⁸ 02909/1965 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1965-VI-12, MOL XIX-B-10-1966-VI-20. For 1969, see protocol of 2–6 September 1969 about the negotiations between the border guards of Hungary and the USSR. See in *A magyar-szovjet államhatárral kapcsolatos szerződések gyűjteménye* [Collection of contracts concerning the Hungarian-Soviet border], Klsz. 310/1980 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1980-VI-43.

⁶⁹ 0393/1971 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-VI-33.

⁷⁰ 0241/3/1977 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1977-VI-15.

⁷¹ Decrees No. 20/1986 MT. and 4/1986 BM, TRHGY 1986, 258–261, and 386–387. See also in *Belügyi Közlöny* (Home Affairs Bulletin) volume XXVII, No. 11, 109–112, and 113–114 and under MOL XIX-B-10-1969-VI-40.

⁷² Newer draft of the agreement: 01003/1961 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1961-V-10, and (later) 01794/1962 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1962-VI-4.

⁷³ Edict No. 15. of 1963, TRHGY 1963, 53–56, and Decree No. 2/1963 BM, *ibid.* 203–205. Introducing of the new permits was in 1963, see 2241/1963. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1963-V-9.

Close border traffic was on probation between Yugoslavia and Hungary.⁷⁴ The traffic started first in 1963, between the Danube and the Dráva rivers and slightly later between Letenye and Murakeresztúr. A frontier zone of 10 km was chosen. However, only close relatives could travel to visit each other.⁷⁵ Negotiations were carried out only after this trial. The views of the sides differed a lot.⁷⁶ However, at the end of December 1965 close border traffic was re-established.⁷⁷ The inhabitants of the 15 km wide frontier zone were entitled to obtain Border Crossing Permit which was valid with the identity card. A five-day stay was allowed abroad twice a year. For further journeys, important family events and other justified cases were to be proved. Organized group trips were also available. The permit was valid for a year but was renewable for another one. Except for the first regular trip annually, a permission from the area or town police stations – the issuing authority of the permits – was needed for all journeys. Children under 16 were shown in their parents' permit.⁷⁸

The Yugoslavs urged to increase the number of annual regular travels and also the number of border crossing points and to enlarge the 15 km zone.⁷⁹ Four regular journeys were made possible yearly at the end of 1968 instead of two.⁸⁰ Yugoslavia also suggested that Border Crossing Permits should contain a photo in order to be used without identity cards.⁸¹ It was realized only when a new agreement was signed in 1976. According to the new contract, the frontier zone was widened to 20 km and the number of regular yearly trips became eight. New crossing points were opened only for the purposes of close border traffic. The duration of allowed stay abroad was also extended to 10 days.⁸²

Finally Romania agreed with the re-introduction of close border traffic. Negotiations were started in 1967 but due to differences between the points of view an agreement was reached only in 1969. This time it was Hungary who wanted to

⁷⁴ Decision of the Politburo of the MSZMP in 28 December 1962, cited in: 0393/Pk. – 1964. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1965-VI-28.

⁷⁵ 0329/Tfk. – 1963. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1965-VI-17, and 01121/1963 HOP, *ibid*, No. 19.

⁷⁶ History of the negotiations: 01967/1965 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-VI-24, and 0393/Pk. – 1964. HOP, *ibid*, No. 28.

⁷⁷ 01014/1966 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1966-VI-27.

⁷⁸ 4199/1965 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1965-VI-29, Edict No. 25. of 1965, TRHGY 1965, 136–143, and Decree No. 2/1965 BM, *ibid*, No. 223. The agreement was signed on 9 August 1965 in Budapest.

⁷⁹ 03615/1966 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1966-VI-34; 03466/1967. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1967-VI-48, 0180/1968. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1968-VI-79.

⁸⁰ 03718/1968. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1968-VI-55.

⁸¹ 02250/1970 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1970-VI-58. Later negotiations: 0177/2/1972 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1972-VI-24. Rules valid in 1970, see 10-24/8/1970 BM, TH 1.11.1. ÁBMHT, box 8.

⁸² Edict No. 19. of 1976, TRHGY 1976, 168–178. The agreement was signed on 5 November 1975 in Budapest. The implementing decree was Decree No. 3/1976 BM, *ibid*. 402–403.

grant more rights.⁸³ The agreement was a success for Hungary because the frontier zone became 15 km wide (instead of 10 or 12 as Romania suggested) and only bigger cities were excluded (instead of all towns). However, the number of journeys were limited to four occasions yearly and travellers had to use the same crossing point for returning. Three new crossing points were opened. Border Crossing Permits were introduced.⁸⁴ The traffic started in 1970,⁸⁵ but in 1977 the agreement was modified. The frontier zone was enlarged to 20 km but bigger cities remained excluded. The number of regular annual trips increased to 12. Border Crossing Permits were valid for a year but a permission from local police authorities was needed for every journey. However, permissions were obtainable for more trips.⁸⁶

No agreement on close border traffic was signed with Austria under the Kádár regime,⁸⁷ although Yugoslavia and Austria maintained such traffic. What is more, even dual landownership remained intact between Austria and Yugoslavia.⁸⁸

Hungary's visa policy under Kádár

While passport policy allowed the regime to take control over journeys of Hungarian citizens, visa policy was used to exclude some undesirable foreigners. In the beginning of the Kádár-era, every foreigner – including citizens of communist states – had to apply for a visa in order to travel to Hungary. Compulsory visas were in use also for Hungarians going abroad. First bilateral visa agreements were signed in late 1950s with socialist countries only. However, these agreements were rather sophisticated and most of them were applicable for Diplomatic and Service Passports. Strangely, Soviet citizens had a visa-free travel possibility to Hungary but Hungarians needed a visa to the USSR.⁸⁹ Fully visa-

⁸³ 03036/1967 Fep, MOL XIX-B-10-1967-VI-32. Later discussions: 01071/1968. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1968-VI-42, 03584/Fep. – 1968. HOP, *ibid.* No. 49; in 1969: 01731/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-VI-42.

⁸⁴ 03046/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-1, see also MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-46, and Edict No. 43. of 1969, TRHGY 1969, 219–225. and Decree No. 1/1970 BM, TRHGY 1970, 315. Extracts can be found also in 10-24/2/1970 BM, TH 1.11.1. ÁBMHT, box 8.

⁸⁵ 170/1/1970 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1970-V-18.

⁸⁶ Edict No. 31 of 1977, TRHGY 1977, 303–308, and Decree No. 8/1977 BM, *ibid.* 524. See also 0236/2/1977 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1977-VI-22; and 10-27/21/1977 BM, TH 1.11.1. ÁBMHT, box 8.

⁸⁷ Large scale visiting of Western-Hungarian territories by capitalist (Austrian) citizens was not welcome due to state security reasons. However, mass travel of Hungarians to Austria was also “problemous”. See 0920/1970 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-VI-1.

⁸⁸ 01273/1968. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1968-VI-71.

⁸⁹ Bulgaria: 03402/hdm. – 1958. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1958-VI-103; other communist countries: see *Fontosabb FEP rendeletek gyűjtője 1957. I. 1-től*. [Collection of important decrees on border crossing from 1 January 1957], Klsz. 0512/1959 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1959-V-11. Czechoslovakia: 02599/1960 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1960-VI-18. Romania: 00989/1960. FEP, MOL XIX-B-10-1960-V-15.

free travel started from 1960 to neighbouring Czechoslovakia.⁹⁰ Soon, most socialist countries signed similar agreements with Hungary (Soviet Union 1960 and 1969, Bulgaria and Poland 1964, Yugoslavia 1965, Romania 1967, East Germany 1963 and 1969.)⁹¹

Western states remained visa-needing territories until 1969 when Finland signed an agreement with Hungary.⁹² It was of greater importance that visas were abolished between Hungary and Austria in 1978.⁹³ (Both agreements entered into force on New Year's Day in the following year). Other countries with which such agreement was reached included Mongolia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Malta, Sweden and China.⁹⁴ Other Asian socialist countries granted visa-free travel for diplomats and travellers with Service Passports.

The visa system of Hungary was unchanged until 1964 although the Politburo decided as early as in 1960 to loosen the system. At that time, official visitors and tourists coming in organized groups waited 2 to 6 days for a visa. Private travellers had to wait up to four weeks.⁹⁵ In the '50s visas prescribed even the entry point for foreigners. Expired transit visas were regarded void except for those of communist nationals.⁹⁶ Visas were issued solely by the Foreigners Inspecting Office of the Ministry for Home Affairs even in 1964 and visas were issued as slowly as in 1960.⁹⁷ The only exception was Budapest Airport where issuance of

⁹⁰ *FEP rendeletek gyűjtője*. [Collection of decrees on border crossing], Klsz. 00570/1960 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1960-V-49.

⁹¹ Soviet Union: only with invitation letter and organized package tours. Klsz. 0990/1969 HOP. *Magyar útiokmányok ellenőrzésére és kezelésére vonatkozó utasítás* [Direction concerning controlling of Hungarian travel documents], MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-48. Later: 01349/Fep. – 1969. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-VI-35 and 40; Bulgaria: Telegraphic direction No. 258, *FEP rendeletek és utasítások gyűjtője* [Collection of decrees and directions on border crossing], MOL XIX-B-10-1966-V-34; Poland: *Magyar útiokmányok érvényességére vonatkozó szabályok* [Rules concerning the validity of Hungarian travel documents], Klsz. 0751/1964 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1964-V-31; Yugoslavia: 01014/1966 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1966-VI-27. and Edict No. 4. of 1966, TRHGY 1966, 37–39; Romania: 03036/1967 Fep, MOL XIX-B-10-1967-VI-32. and Edict No. 7. of 1968, TRHGY 1968, 110–112. (A maximum of 100,000 private visitors were allowed annually until 1975); East Germany: 01930/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-23. and Edict No. 31. of 1969, TRHGY 1969, 208–210.

⁹² Edict No. 40. of 1969, TRHGY 1969, 215–216.

⁹³ Edict No. 30 of 1978, TRHGY 1978, 352–353. Diplomatic Passports were visa-free from 1965, Service Passports from 1969. See telegraphic direction No. 399, *FEP rendeletek és utasítások gyűjtője* [Collection of decrees and directions on border crossing], MOL XIX-B-10-1966-V-34. and Edict No. 17. of 1969, TRHGY 1969, 159.

⁹⁴ Mongolia: Edict No. 17 of 1968, TRHGY 1968, 132–133; Cuba: Decree No. 11/1979 MT, TRHGY 1979, 289–291; Nicaragua: Decree No. 6/1983 MT, TRHGY 1983, 213–214; Malta: Decree No. 51/1983 MT, *ibid*, 295–296; Sweden: Decree No. 1/1986 MT, TRHGY 1986, 232–232; China: Edict No. 6 of 1989, TRHGY 1989, 389–390.

⁹⁵ MOL M KS 288. f. 5/205. őe.

⁹⁶ 03806/ FEP – 1959. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1959-V-38.

⁹⁷ MOL M KS 288. f. 5/339. őe.

visas was possible from 1962 in certain cases.⁹⁸ With the increasing traffic, the Politburo had realized that a change was necessary. It suggested that the most important Hungarian embassies could give visas to every foreigner, except those who were on the "black list" and were undesirable in Hungary. With this move, issuing time was reduced to 24–72 hours.⁹⁹ Later that year visas were issued even at the most important border crossing points (excluding railway entry points).¹⁰⁰

The visa system was very complicated in late 1960s. First, there were at least five authorities which were entitled to issue visas; second, the number of visas was large, there were diplomatic, service, courtesy, tourist, week-end, transit, return, exit, subsequent, visitor and official visas! These could be distinguished only by the serial number, although they granted different rights to their holders. Visas of this time were signets stamped in the passport. It was filled by hand-writing and it contained information about the number of travels allowed; how many people could use it; expiry date and also info on the direction it was valid. Courtesy visas were issued to visitors of employers of foreign representations in Budapest and also persons who were invited by the party, the government etc. Week-end visa was valid for one or two days; at the western entry points only one-day week-end visas were issued with which travellers had to leave Hungary at the same place they entered by midnight. Return visa was given to foreign citizens permanently residing in Hungary. With this visa they were allowed to leave and come back to Hungary. Real exit visas (not those given in Hungarian passports which were indeed travel permits) were issued to various kinds of foreigners: those who spent more than six months in Hungary; who lost their passports and got new travel document here; who remained behind from a collective travel or just whose visa expired or was not valid for leaving Hungary. Those who travelled to Hungary without visa (but with permission to do so) had to apply for a visa subsequently.¹⁰¹

The visa was valid for a maximum of 30-day stay in Hungary (extendible to 3 months). Anyone who stayed more had to ask for a residence permit. It was valid for a year. However, there were also permanent residence permits. Residence permits were withdrawn when the foreigner left the country; for leaving so, an exit visa was required.¹⁰² Visa-free travellers could stay for 30 days without residence registration. After 30 days, residence permits were necessary for them too. If such a traveller stayed for more than 6 months, an exit permit (not a visa) was

⁹⁸ 01692/1962. HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1962-V-7.

⁹⁹ MOL M KS 288. f. 5/339. őe.

¹⁰⁰ Order No. 020/1964. HOP, *FEP rendeletek és utasítások gyűjtője* [Collection of decrees and directions on border crossing], MOL XIX-B-10-1966-V-34. Some of the border crossings opened later also issued visas, see 01418/1968 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1968-V-1, and 01659/1968 HOP, *ibid.* No. 2.

¹⁰¹ Decree No. 24/1966 Korm, TRHGY 1966, 202–203; Decree No. 4/1966 BM, *ibid.* 262–264. and Direction No. 01/1967. BM. cited by Klsz. 0989/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-6.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

required before leaving.¹⁰³ Every foreigner had to report any change in their residence address within 24 hours.¹⁰⁴ Visas were issued to Hungarian citizens also especially to those living abroad with Passport for Hungarian Citizens Living Abroad or Consular Passport. Hungarians with this travel document had to apply for a permit (visa) for travelling to Hungary. The permit was issued by foreign representations or border stations and was valid for 30 days. However, Hungarian address of residence had to be reported.¹⁰⁵ The visa policy which was formed in the 1960s remained almost unchanged in the following two decades of the Kádár-era.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ÁVH – State Security Authority (Államvédelmi Hatóság)
 BM – Minister [or Ministry] for Home Affairs (belügyminiszter, Belügyminisztérium)
 f. – fond (fond)
 FEP – border crossing point, border-traffic controlling point (Forgalom-ellenőrző Pont)
 HBK – Border Guard and Inner Armed Forces (Határőrség és Belső Karhatalom)
 hdm. – operational department (hadműveleti osztály)
 HOP – National Command(er) of Border Guard (Határőrség Országos Parancsnok[ság]a)
 HP – Command of Border Guard (Határőrség Parancsnoksága)
 jogi – legal department (jogi osztály)
 klsz. – inventory number of books (könyvtári szám)
 korm. – government, governmental (kormány)
 KüM – Minister [or Ministry] for Foreign Affairs (külügyminiszter, Külügyminisztérium)
 MNK – Hungarian People's Republic (Magyar Népköztársaság)
 MOL – Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár)
 MT – Council of Ministers (Minisztertanács)
 ORFK – National Police Headquarters (Országos Rendőr-főkapitányság)
 őe. – inventory unit (őrzési egység)
 pk, pkh. – commander, deputy commander (parancsnok, parancsnok-helyettes)
 PüM – Minister [or Ministry] of Finance (pénzügyminiszter, Pénzügyminisztérium)
 szolg. – of service (szolgálati)
 RTF – Police Academy (Rendőrtiszt Főiskola)
 TH – Historical Office [from April 2003: Historical Archives of State Security Services] (Történeti Hivatal; 2003 áprilistól Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára)
 TRHGY – Official Collection of Laws and Decrees (Törvények és Rendeletek Hivatalos Gyűjteménye)
 ZMKA – Miklós Zrínyi Military Academy (Zrínyi Miklós Katonai Akadémia)

¹⁰³ A vízummentes külföldi útiokmányok ellenőrzése és kezelése (Controlling of visa-free foreign travel documents) Klsz. 0991/1969 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1969-V-49.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, and Decree No. 4/1966 BM, TRHGY 1966, 262–264.

¹⁰⁵ 02144/1970 HOP, MOL XIX-B-10-1970-V-14.

Structures in Medieval Space: An Overview*



In his recent volume, Gyula Kristó studies the possible spatial and landscape structures of medieval Hungary. His work can be divided into three main parts: medieval Hungary as an integrated system, the counties of the Hungarian Crown, and the territories of the kingdom. Only those elements are taken into account where there is an appropriate amount of information to draw conclusions.

Gyula Kristó quotes both Hungarian and foreign (e.g. Western European and Arabic) narrative sources, charter evidence and the late medieval map of Lazarus. Works of Hungarian historians and studies of researchers of other fields (e.g. geographers, ethnographers, linguists etc.) are used. Concerning the available source material of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, certain problems arise, namely that in many cases one has to decide about medieval conditions on the basis of relatively little contemporary source material. While the medieval existence of certain units of a spatial network is well known, there is no or little contemporary evidence about other circumstances such as the extension. In other cases, spatial distribution is known but no conscious network development can be detected (e.g. tolls).

In the first chapter, while examining the existing geographical names of the medieval kingdom, Kristó concludes that most of these names reflect natural conditions of the given areas. Thus, their names were given predominantly by the local population following the natural landscape and its boundaries, and rarely after political figures or ethnic groups. This point is very important in the understanding of the perception of medieval landscape, for it suggests that in medieval times people had the geographical image of much larger areas than their own environment of a couple of villages.

The largest, second section of the book deals with the spatial structuring, the sum of spatial networks, overlapping each other, organised by different bodies of

* Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon*. [The Idea of Landscape and Spatial Organisation in medieval Hungary] Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 19. Szeged, 2003.

the top-hierarchy of late medieval Hungary. As a part of this second section, he presents many of such independent, spatial organisations, with their partly overlapping, partly independent boundaries. Legal, military, monetary and other jurisdictional spatial networks which helped governing the country as an integral unit are discussed. On the other hand, some other tendencies are discussed, which worked against integrity, temporary or long-lasting units of both medieval Hungary and the territories are mentioned which led towards disintegration and separation.

Concerning medieval spatial networks described in the book, the author organised the available information in three – in some cases in four – periods: the time of Saint Stephen, the mid-twelfth, the first half of the fourteenth century, and the turn of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

In some cases, the author uses contour-maps in his analysis. In the presentation of spatial distribution and networks, maps are of primary importance; however, in our case one has to face the problem that – due to the scarcity of available contemporary sources – in many cases it is not possible to produce adequate maps. This might be the reason why Kristó uses few maps in his current work. Notwithstanding the uncertainties concerning boundaries etc. research on historical geography remains to be done.

The last chapter deals with present ethnographic units of the Hungarian people. Debating the results and statements of other disciplines and discussing the possible medieval roots of present linguistic-ethnographic networks he stands against the conclusions drawn by some non-medievalists which date these structures back to medieval times without providing an appropriate background of medieval evidence to their statements.

ANDREA KISS

Conferences on the History of the Steppe at the University of Szeged

(1997, 2000, 2002)



The Department of Medieval World History at the University of Szeged organised its third conference on the history of the steppe in 2002. Oriental studies and, especially, the investigation of the world of Eurasian nomadic peoples has far-reaching traditions in Hungary. This can be explained partly by the fact that the different Turkic-speaking peoples had significant linguistic and cultural impact on the Hungarians, and partly also by the good geo-political location of Hungary that created a suitable background for such research. Among the Hungarian scholars the most outstanding ones are Gyula Németh, Lajos Ligeti and András Róna-Tas who greatly influenced oriental studies at the University of Szeged and, at the same time, were and are internationally acknowledged professors. In the cases of Gyula Németh and Lajos Ligeti the placement of their significant private libraries at the University of Szeged gave a great impetus to research, while András Róna-Tas established a study group investigating the history of nomadic peoples in a complex way. Through his disciples, this group became determinant in the Hungarian research of the medieval history of the steppe.

The first conference (1997) focused on the relations between the Carpathian Basin and the Eurasian steppe. The presented studies on the Huns (Tibor Schäfer), the Alans (Barbara Fejős), the Gepids (Eszter Istvánovics), the Avars (Szabolcs Felföldi, Gábor Lőrinczy, Péter Straub, Margit Nagy and Mihály Dobrovits), the Bulgars (Csaba Farkas), the Khazars (Szabolcs Polgár and Richárd Szántó), the Hungarians (Sándor László Tóth, Balázs Sinkovics, László Klima and Zoltán Kordé), the Pechenegs (György Galamb) and the Cumans (István Vásáry) were published in the first conference volume.¹

The second conference (2000) concentrated on the similarities and dissimilarities of the nomadic migrations and the Hungarian conquest. The studies on the Indo-Aryan peoples (Gyula Wojtilla), the Scythians (Eszter Istvánovics and Valéria Kulcsár), the Huns (Tibor Schäfer), the Alans (Barbara Fejős), the Hephthalites

¹ *A Kárpát-medence és a steppe* [The Carpathian Basin and the Steppe], ed. A. Márton. Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 14. Budapest 2001.

(Szabolcs Felföldi), the Bulgars (András Róna-Tas and Csaba Szalontai), the Hungarians (István Zimonyi), the Cumans (László Keller) and the Mongols (Mária Ivanics and László Balogh), together with some other studies covering broader periods of time, such as the one on the nomadic espionage (Hansgerd Göckenjan), on the colour symbolism of the steppe (Balázs Sinkovics), or on the parallels between the Russian and Hungarian raiding campaigns (Márta Font) were published in the second conference volume.²

The author of this short summary cannot aim at presenting all the more than thirty studies published in the two conference volumes. Therefore, only a few were chosen to be discussed in details, mainly those hopefully well-representing all the others.

In his article András Róna-Tas discussed the problem of the location of *Magna Bulgaria* led by Khuvrat ("Where was Khuvrat's Bulgharia?"). In the seventh century the Bulgars theretofore being overruled by the Avars won their independence. It was achieved under the leadership of Khuvrat who, as an ally to the Byzantine Emperor Heraclios, made his realm become a significant political factor. The majority of the scholars accepted the opinion of Gyula Moravcsik placing the abode of Khuvrat's Bulgars north to the Caucasus, in the region of Kuban.³ As opposed to him, on the basis of the rich archaeological material found in the grave of Malaia Perescepina (Ukraine) near the Dnieper River that could be dated to the seventh century, András Róna-Tas stands for a fundamentally different theory. According to the widely accepted reading of the Greek inscriptions cut in the seal-rings found in the grave, these objects might have been in Khuvrat's property. The author discusses the sources concerning Khuvrat's realm in details and concludes that it can be unambiguously located to the region of the Dnieper. After Khuvrat's death the nomadic empire established in the western part of the South Russian steppe, led by a Turkic ruler being on Christian faith, fell apart. Certain groups of the Bulgars fled to the West and their place was occupied by the Hungarians.⁴

István Zimonyi presented an account on the Hungarians of the tenth century ("A New Muslim Source on the Hungarians Living in the Carpathian Basin"). Hitherto, scholars connected a certain fragment written by al-Bakhri, a Muslim writer of Andalusia, with the inhabitants of the British Isles. In the critical edition of the text the part in question, coming up at the enumeration of East-European countries, were entitled as the *Anqlīš*. After the profound survey of the text, however, it became apparent that this account bears information about the Hungarians. Therefore, the reading of the title should not be *Anqlīš*, but on the basis of

² *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás* [Nomadic Migrations, Hungarian Conquest], ed. Sz. Felföldi and B. Sinkovics. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 15. Budapest 2001.

³ Gy. Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10 (1930): 53–90.

⁴ For the English version of the study see: A. Róna-Tas, "Where was Khuvrat's Bulgharia?" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 53 (2000): 1–22; further reading concerning the issue: A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Age. An Introduction to Early Hungarian History*. Budapest 1999.

Ungarus/Hungarus, the most widespread foreign denomination of the Hungarians, it should be *Unquluš*. The account, after the description of the abode of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, provides detailed ethnographical data as well. Uniquely, it depicts the *Tengri*-cult and some other religious beliefs of the tenth-century Hungarians.

Mária Ivanics investigated the Book of the Genghis-Legend compiled in the seventeenth-eighteenth century from the point of view how it describes the ideal ruler of the steppe ("Nomad 'Mirror of the Prince' in the Book of the Genghis-Legend").⁵ As to the source, such person should possess the following characteristics: 1) charisma, 2) the ability of the constant extension of his empire, 3) respect for the social hierarchy, 4) righteousness and usefulness, 5) inclemency and leniency, 6) executive ability. In most of the cases of the empires of the steppe these criteria cannot be entirely confirmed by contemporary sources. Therefore, this study excellently demonstrates that relatively late sources preserving though the original pagan thinking patterns can be of great help in the investigation of the power system of the traditional nomadic world. The analysed source opposing the ideal ruler to the greatest nomad conqueror of the fourteenth century introduces Tamerlane as well. Legitimacy was not a relevant criteria for him, since he could not lead his origin back to Genghis Khan – that is to the clan possessing charisma assured by heaven. However, parallel to the spread of Islam in the steppe, in his case a new legitimacy had developed that was based on the deeds of the ruler. Thereby, the figure of the conqueror bringing about Islamisation among the peoples of his empire supported by God replaced the earlier pagan charismatic ruler supported by heaven.

Szabolcs Polgár covered a highly debated issue of Khazar history, the building of the fortress of Šarkel. Certain Byzantine sources reveal to us that in the 830s the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus sent building experts to the Khazars who, on the bank of the Don River, built up the stronghold of Šarkel. Scholarly opinion differs about the question against whom this stronghold was actually built. According to the three most frequently accepted ideas, the potential enemies could have been the Russians, the Hungarians or the Pechenegs. Szabolcs Polgár is on the opinion that for chronological reasons the Russians and the Pechenegs can be excluded. On the one hand, at that time when the fortress was built, the Russians did not yet mean such a great threat for the Khazars that could have motivated this large-scale building activity. On the other hand, the Pechenegs then lived east to the Volga River, thus could not be taken into account as attackers of Šarkel. Connecting the building of Šarkel to the threatening presence of the Hungarians was strongly influenced by a sentence written by Ibn-Rusta, a tenth-century Muslim author, saying that there were times when the Khazars defended themselves against the Hungarians and other peoples by moat. Scholarship was disorientated by the fact that in a number of translations the expression „moated” was wrongly written as „circumvallated”. Under these circumvallations or ramparts

⁵ M. Ivanics, and M. A. Usmanov, *Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende (Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā)*, I. Studia Uralo-Altaica 44. Szeged 2002.

certain scholars – abusively – understood Sarkel. Recently, however, it was proven that the sentence in question actually reports on the building of moat and not rampart.⁶ The author of the study believes that there is no evidence on the basis of which one can assume that the Hungarians manifested hostile attitude towards the Khazar Khaganate in the first half of the ninth century. In connection with the construction of Sarkel, the significance of commercial traffic should highly be taken into consideration. Ninth-century archaeological and written sources both attest the growth of trading activity. The goods of the forest-land (slave, wax, fur) were transported in huge quantities to the southern centres of civilisation, the Byzantine Empire and the Baghdad Caliphate. Szabolcs Polgár supposes that taxing this intensive trading of goods compelled the Khazars to built up the stronghold of Sarkel in order to control one of the important sailing routes, the Don River.

In 2002, during the third conference on the history of the steppe (Armed Nomads, Nomadic Arms) organised in Szeged on 9–10 September, the supervisor of the meeting, István Zimonyi, the head of the Department of Medieval World History at the University of Szeged, declared that corresponding to the needs and expectations the fourth conference due in two years will already be an international gathering.⁷ The organisers hope that this meeting will generate new opportunities for wider range of co-operation among Western and Eastern European scholars.

LÁSZLÓ BALOGH

⁶ I. Zimonyi, "A 9. századi magyarokra vonatkozó arab források. A Dzsajhāni-hagyomány. [Arabic Sources on the Ninth-Century Hungarians. The Ġayhāni-Tradition.]" In *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*, ed. L. Kovács and L. Veszprémy, *A honfoglalásról sok szemmel* 2. Budapest 1996. 49–59.; H. Göckenjan, and I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter. Die Ġayhāni-Tradition. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica* 54. Wiesbaden 2001, 74, note 102.

⁷ The Department of Medieval World History, Department of Archeology at the University of Szeged, and the Research Group of Hungarian Prehistory of the Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Szeged organize the *Medieval Nomads: First International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe* (11–16 May 2004, Szeged, Hungary).

Source material for Hungarian prehistory



The latest volume of the *Hungarian Prehistory Series* (Vol. 16) edited by András Róna-Tas contains a new, critical analysis of some of the written sources essential for the study of Hungarian prehistory. The volume's editor has devoted several studies as well as a new monograph to the study of Hungarian prehistory in the past ten years. Professor Róna-Tas beside offering conceptual clarification as well as a brief survey of the previous materials has come up with several new conceptions. It has at the same time become evident that the old and obsolete publications of the relevant sources prevents us from solving the problems that emerge concerning Hungarian prehistory. Moreover, a considerable number of relevant materials have never been published with a usable Hungarian translation and explanatory notes. This volume intends to meet this long-felt need. In addition to a lengthy editorial introduction there are six considerable sources as well as passages from different sources in bilingual form with philological and historical commentaries. The passages are of various genres (including geographical work, letters and passages from an almanac) and they were written in different languages (Armenian, Latin, Hebrew) in different eras, in different geographical, political, religious and social status.

In the first part of his introductory study, the editor tries to dispel the misconception that there are no written sources of Hungarian relevance preceding the migration to the Carpathian Basin. He also mentions that there are no authentic sources written by Hungarians either in Hungarian or any other languages (for example: Latin or Greek) dating back earlier than the eleventh century. As a result, those who do research on Hungarian prehistory are compelled to be satisfied with the accounts of neighbouring peoples written in foreign languages. However, Hungarian research is behind in the critical publication and analysis of these source materials. Regarding some sources such as Byzantine, Latin or Slavonic ones the situation is not as grave as in the case of Hebrew, Armenian and other sources of minor importance (Syriac and Georgian), where shortcomings are considerable. In the second part of his introduction, Róna-Tas surveys the problems raised by the sources contained by the volume.

The Armenian accounts belong to the unexploited sources of Hungarian prehistory, which is rather surprising since Armenian literature rose quite early and focused not only on Armenian issues but contain information about nomadic steppe peoples migrating to the North of Caucasus. Maybe, the most important of these writings is the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* (*Description of the world*) dating back to the seventh century, which is actually a geographical description of the world in accordance with ancient Greek traditions. In the present volume the passages regarding steppe peoples (earlier attributed to Movses Xorenac'i and Pseudo Movses Xorenac'i but these days to Ananias Širakac'i) were prepared for printing by Ágnes Paulik. In 1992, Hewsen's critical edition allowed us to deal with the text on its merit. The work has a longer and shorter version. After describing the ancient background to its genesis, Paulik discusses the manuscripts, its publications as well as the relevant and most important literature both of the longer and shorter versions. Then she tries to specify the author and the date of origin. Paulik accepts Patkanean, Hewsen and others' opinion about the date of origin (seventh century). (The longer version was finished no later than 636.). After describing the sources, Paulik gives a brief summary of the text and discusses the short and long versions' fundamental differences. Only after this can we go on to read the Armenian texts of the European Sarmatia, Thrace and Asian Sarmatia. The chapters are arranged in two separate columns with the relevant parts of the longer and shorter versions on the even-numbered pages and the Hungarian translation on the odd-numbered pages. While the philological commentaries can be found in footnotes, the historical commentaries are in endnotes. One of the most interesting pieces of information refers to Turks. According to Marquart the Turk name might relate to Hungarians but several historians have refused this opinion. Both Paulik and Róna-Tas leave it as an open question.

Another source, the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* – treated by Péter Kiss – is of great importance because it is an essential geographical and ethnic source about the Carpathian Basin in the late ninth century. It includes numerous ancient, Slavonic as well as Bavarian proper-names and place-names, some of which might be of Turkish (Avar) origin. It also mentions Metod's work, as well as principalities of Pribina and Kocel. The new Hungarian translation is based on Fritz Lošek's latest edition which also includes a hitherto unknown manuscript published in 1997. The book consists of 14 chapters and beside a list of the bishops and abbots in Salzburg it describes the clerical and secular history of Carantans' region, the fights between Bavarian and Slavonic people, and the proselytizing work in Pannonia. This latter content might be worthy of our attention. Kiss mentions the date (c. 870), circumstances as well as the importance of the genesis of the text. He gives a full analysis about the textual tradition, some of the manuscripts and how they relate to each other. Among the inserts he also includes the presently known manuscripts' stemma. Kiss, of course, mentions the historic relations of the *Conversio* focusing on the issue of Pannonia's boundaries. Analyzing Pannonia's population of the period, he argues that the territory which according to the *Conversio* was dominated by Avars was actually occupied mainly by southern Slavonic peoples. In the interest of an easy survey and fur-

ther research Kiss has enclosed an individual insert containing Pannonia's place and personal names. The bibliography is followed by the original Latin version of the text (chapters 10 to 14), then by the new Hungarian translation

The next source is a letter written by an archbishop in Salzburg called Theotmar to Pope John IX. András Fejérdy translated and prepared the letter for printing. The letter's authenticity had been disputed for a long time but later it was accepted as genuine both by international and Hungarian scholars. Since the letter was written 30 years after the *Conversio*, it includes the Hungarian conquest thereby increasing the value of Theotmar's letter. It contains several essential direct and indirect pieces of information about the conquest; for example, the Hungarians' military expedition to Italy in 899–900 is mentioned in it. Besides, it describes the nomadic contract making traditions used by the Hungarians. Moreover, we are directly informed about the Hungarian and Moravian relations. The letter deals with the issue of the Church's legal authority in Pannonia and Moravia. The background to the letter is a dispute over diocesan boundaries between the archbishopric in Salzburg and the bishopric in Passau. In this letter Theotmar wanted to prove the privileges of the archbishopric in Salzburg. Besides, Fejérdy mentions the fake documents written by Pilgrim, bishop of Passau, aimed at proving Passau's privileges. Theotmar's letter was also found in a collection of fake documents. Fejérdy takes stock of the surviving documents and gives an outline of the two possible stemmas of the documents' bequeathing. Then he writes about the circumstances of the letter's origin, historical background, its author and addressee, date as well as the issue of authenticity in detail. Fejérdy makes philological, linguistic and historical comments on the Latin and the Hungarian versions.

András Németh analyzed a letter written to Dado, the bishop of Verdun. The letter is actually a commentary on Ezekiel and it is one of the first letters that describes western Christianity's information about a people called '*Hungri*' and about its supposed origin. It relates the Hungarians' '*Hungri*' name used in western Europe with the word '*hunger*', and it outlines the peoples' origin on the basis of this dilettante etymology. The source material is of great importance from the point of view of Hungarians but it is difficult to study it for several reasons. We do not know exactly its author, the addressee or the date of its origin. After taking each source publications as well as two other related letters Németh arranges those manuscripts into stemmas which have been found so far. It is followed by the original Latin text and the Hungarian translation. The importance of the current publication has been increased by the fact that it uses two manuscripts that had not been used in the previous publications (by Heilig and Huygens). Moreover, it had not been translated before into a modern language in its entire length. Németh is certain that the letter's addressee was Dado, the bishop of Verdun, and it must have been written between 917 and 923. The letter's place of origin could have been a monastery of St. Germanus. Most of the monasteries dedicated to St. Germanus are a great distance away from Verdun except for the above mentioned, which is 20 km away from it. Moreover, it is in Montfaucon, and it was also threatened by Hungarians. Consequently, the most probable place

of origin of the letter was Montfaucon. Since the name of the letter's writer is indicated only by an initial letter 'R', in the author's opinion, his identity will never be determined. Németh gives a broad outline of the origin of the letter's quotations and references as well as the history of *Hungros*. The author examines all the names similar to 'Hungri' (originally *Onogur*) from the period before the Hungarian Conquest. He is of the opinion that the name 'Hungri' originally refers to the Avars and its association with the 'famine story' precedes the arrival of the Hungarians into the Carpathian Basin. At the end of the ninth century Hungarians took the Avars' place who had threatened the region of Verdun. Therefore it is no wonder that both the name and the story of origin connected with the name were transferred to the Hungarians.

We can read the so-called Hebrew *Schechter-text* in Hungarian for the first time in László Hunyadi's translation. The text quoted by Hunyadi is part of a longer correspondence between Joseph the Khagan of the Khazars and Hasdai ibn Saprut, who was one of the Jewish notables in the Caliphate of Cordoba. The letter translated by Hunyadi is written by an unknown Jewish person of Khazaria to Hasdai ibn Saprut. It was found in the Cairo Geniza and might have been written before the twelfth century. It was Salamon Schechter (Professor of the Department of Jewish Studies at Cambridge University) who, bought the important manuscripts from the synagogue of Cairo to Cambridge. The letter mentioned above is from these manuscripts and that is why it is called either *Schechter-text* or *Cambridge-document*. The first publication of this text in 1912 opened a heated debate on authenticity. First the Hebrew usage of the manuscript is problematical, there are contradictions between the letter written by Kagan Joseph and the Schechter-text. It became also uncertain whether the Khazars professed Jewish faith. It was Golb and Pritsak, who proved the originality of the text. The source is an official message without any personal tone. The writer asks for donations because of the bad circumstances of the Khazars and gives a summary of the history of the Jewish conversion of the Khazars. According to Hunyadi there is evidence proving that the *Schechter-text* is part of the whole Hasdai-correspondence. In the text one can find a king of Turkiya among the enemies of the Khazars, which, according to Kokovcov, refers to the king of the Hungarians. Although Golb and Pritsak thought that this title refers to the Oguz king, Róna-Tas sides with Kokovcov. A general analysis and the Hungarian translation are followed by the Hebrew text. At the end of the treatise we can find a table with Hebrew signs and their transcriptions.

In the last article of the book István Hermann examines passages of the *Annales Hildesheimenses* concerning Hungarians. He had set himself the task to show the authenticity of the *Annales Hildesheimenses*. The author quotes the passages relating to Hungarians from the ninth and the tenth century. Finally he states that these passages are often inexact, laconic and selective. It is possible that the *Annales* preserved the information of an earlier source. Besides it went through repeated borrowings to obtain its current form. Although the information concerning Hungarians is not very accurate, the data related to the Saxons and the Franks are very important particularly from the mid-tenth century.

It would have been useful if the articles had had more similar form (see the place of the sources and translations inside the articles, the form of the commentaries, footnotes and bibliographies). Some misprints plague the volume. Nevertheless this is a very valuable work. It will be an essential aid not just for research in Hungarian prehistory but on the history of Western and Eastern Europe.

SZABOLCS FELFÖLDI

*A New Book on the Early Hungarian History**



Three monographs on Hungary in the Arpadian age have already been published by Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, the professor of Texas A & M University. These books in their appearance followed a certain chronological order.¹ As far as the Arpadian age is concerned only the earliest period was missing, so this recent work has focused on the beginnings of Hungarian history. The book covers the history of more than one and a half century. The first characteristic feature of the book is its structure; its chapters follow a chronological order, but each chapter deals with certain subjects from the beginnings till the end of the era. This "double structure" has the advantage of dealing with historical processes thoroughly, though it sometimes results in some repetitiveness. Another specific feature of the volume is that the author seems to present Hungarian history as a continuous process. Another specific feature is, that it deals mainly with political history. The author treats Hungary's relations with other states, mostly with the determining political powers of the contemporary Europe; the Papacy, the German and the Byzantine empires. The administrative structure, legislation and domestic political struggles during the reign of Stephen I and after his death are included as well. The author focused on ecclesiastical issues, such as the conversion of the pagan Hungarians and the establishment of the Hungarian Church. However, mainly the economy and partly the social structure are a bit neglected in this work.

The book consists of twelve chapters with endnotes added to each chapter, an appendix, a bibliography and an index. The first chapter deals with the "Magyar beginnings". The author gives a concise survey of the very early history of the Hungarians from their origins until the start of Prince Géza's reign in the 970s. The author treats the Hungarian prehistory in two other chapters as well. He supposes, that the Finno-Ugrian Magyars (Hungarians) lived in the Volga region

* Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063*. East European Monographs No. DCV. Columbia University Press, New York 2002. p. 461.

¹ *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and Their Relations with Rome*. New York 1981; *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095–1196): Hungarian Domestic Policies and the Impact Upon Foreign Affairs*. New York 1987; *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*. New York 1996.

and were conquered by the Turkish Bulgarian tribes around the fifth century. Later (sixth–ninth centuries) the Hungarians belonged to the Khazar Empire and their leaders (the *kündü* and the *gyula*) were appointed by the khagan. The Hungarians living first in Levedia seceded from the Khazars under the leadership of the Megyer tribe around the mid-ninth century. In 889 the Pechenegs attacked the Hungarians who settled to a new homeland, Etelköz (today Bessarabia and Moldavia), where they elected Árpád as their prince. After a few years due to the combined attacks of the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians, the Hungarians left Etelköz and occupied the Carpathian basin in 896 possessed earlier by the East Franks (Pannonia), the Moravians (north of the Danube) and the Bulgarians (east of the Danube and Transylvania). The views of Zoltán Kosztolnyik regarding the prehistory of the Hungarians are basically traditional and may be compared to that of Bálint Hóman. The author considers the Hungarians as nomads in the ninth and tenth centuries, however he does not deal with disputes about nomadism and “seminomadism” (including agriculture) among the Hungarians. Similarly he pays little attention to the Hungarian raids in the ninth and tenth centuries treated rather briefly in two chapters as well.

The second chapter outlines the most important elements of the Byzantine–Hungarian relations beginning with the ninth century. The author refers to the meeting of Cyrill and Method with the Hungarians, the visit of Hungarian leaders to Byzantium in 948, the foundation of a Byzantine missionary bishopric in Hungary, the baptism of important Hungarian persons according to the Byzantine rite (Gyula, Sarolta and Ajtony) and the existence of Greek monasteries (Marosvár, Veszprémvölgy, Pilis-Visegrád etc.). Kosztolnyik rightly underlined the importance of these political-religious connections, although Prince Géza and his son, Stephen I chose the Roman Catholic Church and the West instead of Byzantium.

The third part of the book addresses the problem of choosing between Rome and Byzantium. The author analyzes the competing religious–missionary activities of the East Frankish (German) empire and the Papacy in the Carpathian basin. This rather interesting chapter illuminates the events and the process of the Hungarian conversion, gives an exact picture of the activities of such persons as St. Wolfgang of Einsiedeln, Pilgrim of Passau and Adalbert of Prague in the conversion of the Hungarians.

The next chapter deals with the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin, their tribal system and nomadic way of life and the marauding ventures in the tenth century. The events of the Hungarian conversion to Christianity are also addressed, such as the baptism of Prince Géza. It is an interesting, though a debatable hypothesis that references to white and black/brown colours in connection with the Hungarians or some rulers (Andrew and Béla) may refer to their Christian and pagan religion.

In the next five chapters (V–X) the author focused mainly on the personality and reign of Stephen I. In the fifth chapter first the parents of the first Hungarian king, Géza and Sarolta, then Vajk-Stephen and his wife, Gisela are described with the help of contemporary sources. The problem of the date of Stephen’s baptism

(in 974 or much later) is treated, as well as the historical circumstances of the request of crown in 1000 and persons connected to it (Astric-Anastasius, Pope Sylvester II) and the coronation insignia themselves.

The next two chapters treat the legislation and laws of Stephen I. Together with chapter VIII on the administrative policy of the king, these parts may be regarded the best sections of the work offering careful analysis of the laws of King Stephen and later kings of the eleventh century as well. The author stresses the role of the king as a lawgiver, who with the members of the Royal Council made laws to ensure domestic peace and to protect property rights and security. Kosztolnyik compares the articles of Stephen's laws to earlier and contemporary ecclesiastical (e.g. 847 Synod of Mainz; *Decretum* by Bishop Burchard of Worms) and other laws (e.g. the Bavarian laws), stresses the similarities among them and rightfully concludes, that a strong impact of the Latin Church decrees prevailed in the legislation of Stephen I, Ladislas I and Coloman the Learned. Kosztolnyik makes comparisons between King Stephen's Admonitions addressed to his son, Prince Emeric and earlier works (e.g. *Liber Manualis of Dhouda*; *De institutione regia* of Bishop Jonas of Orleans) expressing similar concepts and ideas. In Chapter VIII based upon the laws as primary sources the author illuminates not only the administrative policy of King Stephen, but gives a clear insight to the social structure of Hungary in the early eleventh century. This chapter also deals with the different office-holders and their functions in the "ambulatory court" of the king.

Chapter IX concentrates on the centralizing policy of King Stephen. This part is dedicated mostly to the king's struggles against his domestic enemies (Kopány, Gyula and Ajtony). At the same time the author carefully analyzes the contemporary sources (the Chronicles, the Gesta of Anonymus, the legends of Saint Stephen and Bishop Gerard etc.) and their credibility.

The last part (Chapter X) deals with the last years of King Stephen's reign. This section contains a full analysis of the Admonitions and a description of the life and death of Prince Emeric and the consequent struggles for the inheritance of the Hungarian throne including the abortive assassination plot of Vazul against the old king and his blinding. The author also analyzes the unsuccessful war of emperor Conrad II against Stephen I in 1030.

The two closing chapters (XI and XII) and the appendix are dedicated to the description of events after the death of Stephen I. The title of Chapter XI, "Time of Troubles" indicates that the main problem of this era was the struggle for the throne between a "newcomer", Orseolo of Venice (the king's nephew) and a Hungarian of noble origin, Samuel Aba (brother-in-law of the king). Chapter XII outlines the main events of the reign of Andrew I and Béla I of the "Vazul-line" including their domestic and foreign policies. The appendix dealing with the same period of these two chapters has already been published.² The volume closes with a rich bibliography of primary sources, books and studies and an index.

² The study appearing here as appendix has been published in *Chronica* I. (pp. 30-44.) with the same title and with only minor differences in content.

This present volume of Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik can be regarded as a good continuation of his series concerning the history of Hungary in the Arpadian age. The author referred abundantly to the antecedents and aftermaths of the period indicated in the title. He placed Hungarian policy and institutions in the framework of European history, and its comparative aspect may be regarded the greatest merit of this volume. Zoltán Kosztolnyik made an important contribution to the Hungarian historiography, which still badly needs books in foreign languages.

SÁNDOR LÁSZLÓ TÓTH

Die Wandervölker – aus rumänischer Sicht



Den Kern des Buches, welches hier dargestellt wird (Mariile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele 9–13. [Die großen Migrationen aus dem Osten und Südosten Europas zwischen den 9.–13. Jahrhunderten.] Iași, 1999) bilden Kapitel einer Universalgeschichte, die der Autor 1980 aus politischen Gründen nicht veröffentlichen konnte. Diese Arbeit hatte aber später (1991) den wichtigsten Teil seiner Vorlesungen an der Alexandru-Ioan Cuza Universität in Iași (Jassy) gebildet.¹ Der Autor erwähnt in der kurzen Einleitung, dass er in fünf großen Kapiteln auf das letzte Segment der im Karpatenbecken und auf der Balkan-Halbinsel endenden Völkerwanderungen eingehen möchte, praktisch die Geschichte der Ungarn, Pečenegen, Uzen, Kumanen und Mongolen. Die chronologische Grenze des Werkes ist das 13. Jahrhundert. Die Aufteilung der einzelnen Kapiteln folgt dem gleichen Modell: Zuerst präsentiert der Autor die Etymologie und Erscheinungsformen der Namen der untersuchten Völker, dann die ethnische Zusammensetzung, Lebensstil und Wirtschaft, sowie das gesellschaftlich – politische System der Völker, ihre Glaubenswelt, schließlich ihre Bedeutung sowie ihren möglichen Einfluss auf andere Völker und Länder, mit denen sie in Berührung kamen. Im Kapitel zwei, *Die Ungarn*, untersucht er neben der Etymologie dieses Volksnamens auch die fremden Benennungen, die in den verschiedenen Quellen vorkommen. Hier präsentiert er die verschiedenen Urheimat-Theorien (uralisch, finno-ugrisch, ugrisch und ungarisch), jeweils nach István Fodor. Es fällt gleich auf, dass Spinei von den kaukasischen und Kubanschen Theorien, die von vielen ungarischen Forschern unterstützt werden, nichts erwähnt.² Bei der Darstellung

¹ Das Vorlesungsmaterial ist bereits als Universitätskurs erschienen: *Die großen Migrationen aus den Territorien nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres in den 9.–13. Jahrhunderten*. Iași 1995. Der aufs zweifache emendierte Kurs kannte eine Neuauflage: *Die letzten Migrationen nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres und von der Unteren Donau*, Iași 1996. 1999 ist das Buch jedoch mit der Beibehaltung der vorigen Struktur erneut erschienen; der Text, die Noten, bibliografische Daten, Illustrationen und Register wurden jedoch gründlich ergänzt.

² Neulich über die kaukasische Ur-Heimat-theorie: Á. Berta, "Magyarok a steppe országtáján," [Die Ungarn auf der Landstrasse der Steppe] in *Árpád előtt és után* Hrsg. Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, Szeged 1996, 31–41. Im Weiteren Berta 1996; A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe in the Early Middle Age: An Introduction to Early Hungarian History*. Budapest–New York 1999, 221.

der *Lebensweise und des wirtschaftlichen Lebens* betont der Autor, dass die Ungarn sich durch Einfluss der benachbarten Bulgaren und anderer türkischen Völker, die in der Steppe nördlich des Kaspischen Meeres Mitte der 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. lebten, den nomadischen Lebensstil angeeignet haben sollen. Nach einem Blick mit Hilfe von schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen auf Landwirtschaft und Handel, die der Autor in Bezug auf die Ungarn stark unterschätzt, erwähnt er die Metall- und Tonverarbeitung. Im Unterkapitel *Soziale und politische Stabilisation* zeigt er die Ansiedlung der sieben ungarischen Stämme im Karpatenbecken.³ Laut dem Autor bezeugen die archäologischen Funde aus den Ortschaften, die den Namen eines der sieben Stämme tragen, dass die Ungarn zuerst in diesen Ortschaften sesshaft wurden.⁴ Das vorhandene Fundmaterial ermöglicht aber nicht, die Territorien der einzelnen Stämme voneinander zu unterscheiden. Da präsentiert er die Meinung von Árpád Berta über die ungarischen Stammesnamen,⁵ die gleich wie die Namen der führenden Schicht, türkische Ursprünge aufweisen. Im Kapitel *Über den Glauben und die kultischen Bräuche der Ungarn* berichtet er vor allem aufgrund der archäologischen und geschriebenen Dokumente. Hier ist zu erwähnen, dass István Zimonyi unlängst die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine bisher unbekannte Quelle mit der Beschreibung der religiösen Bräuche der Ungarn gelenkt hatte.⁶ Die *Politikgeschichte* wird in drei Einheiten aufgeteilt. Im ersten Unterkapitel beschreibt er die Wanderung der Ungarn aus ihrer Ur-Heimat nach Lewédia, von wo sie auf den Druck der Pečenegen teils in Etelköz, teils nach Persien fliehen mussten. Eine Grenze der von ihnen provisorisch bewohnten Territorien (Lewédia, Etelköz) ist aber nicht aufstellbar. Spinei vertritt die Meinung,

³ Zu der Frühgeschichte der Ungarn siehe Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged 1996.

⁴ Laut einigen ungarischen Forschern ist eine derartige Interpretation der archäologischen Funde nicht möglich: siehe Gy. Kristó, "Törzsek és törzsnévi helynevek," [Stämme und Ortsnamen] in *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok*. Hrsg. A. Bartha, K. Czeglédy, A. Róna-Tas, Budapest 1977, 220–221, Gy. Kristó, *A magyar állam megszületése*. [Die Entstehung des ungarischen Staates] Szeged 1995, 249, im Weiteren Kristó 1995; in einem anderen Kontext, aber dasselbe sagen: J. Szűcs, "'Gentilizmus'. A barbár etnikai tudat kérdése (A középkori "nemzeti" tudat prehistorikuma)," [Gentilismus. Die Bewusstseinsproblematik der Barbaren. (Das Prähistorikum des Nationalbewusstseins im Mittelalter)] in *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása. Két tanulmány a kérdés előtörténetéből*. Hrsg. I. Zimonyi, Szeged 1992, 176; I. Dienes, *A honfoglaló magyarok*. [Die landnehmenden Ungarn] Budapest 1972, 23.

⁵ Er schreibt, dass außer dem finno-ugrischen Stammesnamen *Megyer* die ungarischen Benennungen einen türkischen Ursprung hätten. Siehe seine Artikel: "Ungarische Stammesnamen türkischen Ursprungs," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* NF. 9 (1990), 31–37. Später betrachtet er diesen Namen auch als türkisch, er erklärt die Etymologie mit dem Wort *bandžer*, zentraler, wichtiger Platz. Siehe: Berta 1996, 31–41; Á. Berta, "Eltérő nézetek a magyar törzsnévek eredetéről," [Widersprüchliche Ansichten über die Herkunft der ungarischen Stammesnamen] in *Honfoglalás és nyelvészet*. Hrsg. L. Kovács, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1997, 211–219.

⁶ I. Zimonyi, "Egy új muszlim forrás a Kárpát-medencében élő magyarokról," [Eine neue muslimische Quelle über die Ungarn im Karpatenbecken] in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. Hrsg. Sz. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics, Budapest 2001, 88–96.

dass die archäologischen Funde wichtige Informationen über das demografische Bild der Dridu-Kultur im 9. Jahrhundert liefern, die sich außerhalb des Karpatenbogens erstreckte. Er meint, die Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsdichte der Rumänen und anderer Völker im Süden der späteren Moldau und der Ostwalachei sei so groß gewesen, dass Eingriffe fremder Truppen unvorstellbar waren.⁷ Im Donau-Gebiet treten die Ungarn bereits in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts auf und nehmen an den Kämpfen der Großmächte um die Eroberung des Karpatenbeckens und der Balkan-Halbinsel teil. Eine indirekte Folge dieser Auseinandersetzungen ist die Landnahme der Ungarn, da sie eben an einem solchen Angriff beteiligt waren, als die Pečenegen nach einem verlorenen Kampf gegen die Uzen die hinterbliebenen Ungarn in Etelköz angriffen.⁸ Er schliesst zugleich nicht aus, dass der Gedanke der Niederlassung im Karpatenbecken schon während der Invasionen 862, 881, 892 und 894 vorhanden war. Damit beginnt das zweite Unterkapitel, das die Einnahme des Donaubeckens und die Angriffe auf die Gebiete Siebenbürgens behandelt. Auf der Suche nach einem Niederlassungsort, strömten die Ungarn durch den Verecke-Pass in das Karpatenbecken, das sie bis 900 völlig erobert hatten. Das Zeichen des Zusammenlebens mit den hiesigen Slawen sieht der Autor in der Bijelo-Brdo-Kultur. Obwohl die einschlägigen ungarischen Forschungen in verschiedenen Publikationen schon mehrmals davor warnten, das Werk von Anonymus aus dem 12./13. Jahrhundert als Beleg für die Niederlassung anzunehmen,⁹ rekonstruiert Spinei die Einnahme der Territorien doch vor allem anhand dieses Dokuments. Die Gegner der Ungarn: die Fürsten Salanus, Menumorut, Gelu und Glad erwiesen sich als reine Produkte der Phantasie

⁷ Dridu-Kultur heisst die diejenige Balkan-Donau-Kultur aus der Moldau, Walachei und Dobrudscha aus dem 8.–10. Jh., die sich mit dem bulgarischen Zarentum verbindet, im 11.–13. Jh. ist sie als Rădăușeni-Kultur bekannt. Obwohl die rumänischen Forscher die Bevölkerung der Kultur nördlich der Donau für rumänisch halten, kann keine kulturtragende Bevölkerung als einheimisch bezeichnet werden. Die Anzahl der Siedlungen der sesshaft gewordenen slawischen Kultur ist zwischen dem 11. und 13. Jh. allmählich zurückgegangen, und nach dem Mongolenangriff völlig verschwunden. Dazu siehe A. Pálóczi Horváth, *Hagyományok, kapcsolatok és változások a kunok régészeti kultúrájában*. [Traditionen, Verbindungen und Änderungen in der archäologischen Kultur der Kumanen] Karcag 1993, 47–48. Im Weiteren Pálóczi Horváth 1993.

⁸ Dazu siehe I. Zimonyi, "A besenyők nyugatra vándorlásának okai," [Warum sind die Pečenegen nach Westen gewandert] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 106 (1998), 129–143.

⁹ Gy. Kristó, "Rómaiak és vlachok Nesztornál és Anonymusnál," [Römer und Walachen bei Nestor und Anonymus] in ders.: *Tanulmányok az Árpád-korról. Nemzet és emlékezet*. Budapest 1983, 146–164. = "Romans and Vlachs in the Works by Nestor and Anonymus," *Specimina nova. Sectio medievalis* 1 (2001), 15–57. Gy. Györffy, "Anonymus Gesta Hungarorumának kora és hitelessége," [Die Epoche und Glaubwürdigkeit der Gesta Hungarorum von Anonymus] in ders., *Anonymus. Rejtély avagy történeti forrás?* Budapest 1988, 28–52. Neulich: Gy. Kristó, "Anonymus a 9. századi Kárpát-medence bolgár fejedelméről," [Anonymus über die bulgarischen Fürsten im Karpatenbecken im 9. Jahrhundert] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 113 (2001), 94–110; Gy. Kristó, *A korai Erdély (895–1324)*. [Das frühe Siebenbürgen] Szeged 2002, 38–53. Im Weiteren Kristó 2002.

von Anonymus. Der letzte Teil wird den auswärtigen Kriegszügen der Ungarn gewidmet. Von den einschlägigen Primärquellen und Verarbeitungen benutzt er nur die Arbeiten von Lüttich, Fasoli, Vajay, Antonopoulos und Kellner, die umfangreiche Fachliteratur in ungarischer Sprache wird aber ignoriert.¹⁰ In der Periode zwischen 899 und 970 hatten die Ungarn etwa fünfzig Kriegszüge in den westlichen und südlichen Territorien geführt, manchmal in beiden Richtungen zugleich. Nach der Schlacht vom Lech-Gebiet 955 wurde der nomadische Lebensstil zügig aufgegeben und die Sesshaftwerdung setzte sich durch,¹¹ parallel damit auch die Christianisierung, woran neben den byzantinischen auch die slawische und rumänische Bevölkerung¹² einen Anteil hatten, laut dem Autor. Beide Vorgänge erwiesen sich als massgebend, diese gewährten den Ungarn ihre Existenz und ermöglichten, dass Ungarn eine der größten Mächte Mittel-Europas im Mittelalter werden konnte.

Im Kapitel *Die Pečenegen* leitet der Autor den Volksnamen aus dem Wort *bačanak/bačínak* (Schwager), das wahrscheinlich auf das System der Schwagerschuren deutet. Dann ordnet er ihre Sprache, Baskakov folgend, in die oguz-bulgarische Abzweigung der türkischen Sprachfamilie ein. Es wäre doch vernünftig auch die meist akzeptierte Meinung zu erwähnen, nach der die Sprache der Pečenegen kipčakisch-türkisch war.¹³ Im Bezug auf das Wirtschaftsleben hebt er aufgrund der geschriebenen Dokumente hervor, dass die Pečenegen sich mit Viehzucht beschäftigten, und Handel trieben. Die soziale und politische Organisationen rekonstruiert er anhand von muslimischen und griechischen Quellen als unfeste Sippengemeinschaften.

Im Unterkapitel *Glaubenwelt und Religion* wird die uralte Religion der Pečenegen dargestellt, sowie ihre Beziehungen zu Islam und Christentum. Über die Po-

¹⁰ Siehe Gy. Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államáig*. [Von der Stammesgemeinschaft Lewedis bis zum Staat des Hl. Stephan] Budapest 1980, 229–434; Gy. Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*. [Die Kriege der Arpadenzeit] Budapest 1986, Gy. Györffy, "A kalandozások kora," [Die Epoche der Kriegszüge der Ungarn] in *Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*. I/1. Hrsg. Gy. Székely, Budapest 1984, 651–716; *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*. [Lexikon des Frühzeitig Ungarische Historie (9.–14. Jh.)] Hrsg. Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994, Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the ninth century*. Szeged 1996; F. Makk, *Ungarische Außenpolitik (896–1116)*. Herne 1999.

¹¹ Zum Kampf vom Lech-Gebiet siehe Gy. Kristó, *Az augsburgi csata*. [Die Schlacht von Augsburg] Budapest 1985.

¹² Über die Präsenz der Rumänen im Karpatenbecken während der 1160-er Jahre siehe Pálóczi Horváth 1993, 48. Neulichst Kristó 2002, 190–201.

¹³ Gy. Németh Gy, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagyszentmiklós*. Budapest 1932, 16, 50–51; L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. [Türkische Einflüsse in der ungarischen Sprache vor der Landnahme und während der Arpadenzeit] Budapest 1986, 362, 506; Gy. Györffy, "A besenyők nyelve," [Die Sprache der Pečenegen] in ders., *A magyarság keleti elemei*. Budapest 1990, 171. Neulich wird auch diese Theorie bestritten, da anhand der erhalten gebliebenen Glossen die Sprache eines Volkes nicht rekonstruierbar ist. Siehe G. Vörös, "Relics of the Pecheneg language in the Works of Constantine," in *The Turks*, ed. H. C. Güzel, C. C. Oguz, O. Karatay. vol. 1, Ankara 2002, 617–631.

litikgeschichte referiert er in drei kleinen Kapiteln. Im ersten verfolgt er den Weg der Pečenegen – die zuerst in einem der uigurischen Gesandtenberichten in tibetanischer Sprache aus dem 8. Jahrhundert vorkommen – bis zu ihrem Auftritt in der ost-europäischen Steppe.¹⁴ Er erwähnt kurz ihre Beziehungen zu Kasaren, Burtassen und Russen im 9.–10. Jahrhundert, und beschreibt ausführlich die Beziehungen zu den Ungarn und zu Byzanz. Die ungarisch-pečenegischen Beziehungen veränderten sich nach den Feinseligkeiten des Endes des 9. Jahrhunderts. 934 führten sie schon gemeinsame Kriegszüge nach Byzanz und immer mehr Pečenegengruppen ließen sich im Karpatenbecken während des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in den Territorien nieder, die von den Ungarn regiert waren. Aus der Epoche des Königtums (gegründet 1000 n. Chr.) gibt es schon Urkunden, die über sesshaften Pečenegengruppen an der Donau und der Theiss berichten.¹⁵

Das nächste Kapitel, *Exodus nach Byzanz*, befasst sich mit der Flucht der pečenegischen Häuptlinge Kegen und Tiräk ins byzantinische Reich. Sie flohen vor den Uzen und stellten sich den Byzantinern samt ihren Sippen zur Verfügung und traten im 11. Jahrhundert zum Christentum über. Die Loyalität war aber kurzlebig. Infolge der Schwächen des Reiches, schlossen sie sich den paristrionischen Städten an und unternahmen Plünderungen¹⁶, dann unterstützten sie verschiedene Thronprätendenten. Das letzte Unterkapitel beschreibt die Kämpfe der byzanztreuen Pečenegen gegen die Kreuzritter und die Normannen. Die in der Steppe verbliebenen Pečenegen stellten sich in den Dienst der russischen Fürsten (in der Hoffnung, von den Kumanen geschützt zu werden). Bald assimilierten sie sich mit anderen Nomadenvölkern, die ebenso das Gebiet der russischen Fürsten schützten. Nach 1169 figurieren sie nicht mehr in den russischen Jahrbüchern. Zuletzt führten sie aus der Steppe 1122–1123 einen erfolglosen Angriff gegen Byzanz. Im Anschluss führt der Autor die archäologischen und sprachlichen Beweise der Pečenegen im heutigen Rumänien an. Dieses Ethnikum erschien in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts, laut den archäologischen und schriftlichen Beweisen, nördlich der unteren Donau in den Gebieten Bugeac und Bărăgan. Trotzdem ist es nicht möglich, den Nachlass der Pečenegen von demjenigen anderer Nomaden zu trennen, obwohl der Wissenschaft die Resultate von mehreren Hunderten von späten Nomadengräbern auf rumänischen Gebiet außerhalb des Karpatenbeckens bekannt sind. Eine ethnische Absonderung dieser Funde ist wegen den Ähnlichkeiten in den Bestattungsritualen nicht möglich. Die türki-

¹⁴ Über die früheste Geschichte der Pečenegen siehe T. Senga, "A besenyők a 8. században," [Die Pečenegen im 8. Jh.] *Századok* 126 (1992), 503–516. Ders.: "A T'ung-tien híradásai a közép-eurázsiai népekről," [Die Berichte der T'ung-tien über die Völker aus Mitteleurasien] in *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai*. Hrsg. L. Kovács, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 1996.

¹⁵ Eine sehr gute Zusammenfassung über die Beziehungen der beiden Völker Gy. Györffy, "Besenyők és magyarok," [Pečenegen und Ungarn] in ders., *A magyarság keleti elemei*. Budapest 1990, 94–191.

¹⁶ Dazu siehe M. Gyóni, "A paristrioni "államalakulatok" etnikai jellege," [Der ethnische Charakter der Staatsformen aus Paristrion] in *A Magyar Történettudományi Intézet Évkönyve* [= Jahrbuch des Ungarischen Instituts für Geschichtswissenschaft] Budapest 1942.

schen Wörter und Eigennamen des Rumänischen können in den meisten Fällen mit den Pečenegen nicht verbunden werden.

Das Kapitel *Über die Uzen* beginnt ebenso mit der Auflistung der Volksnamen und mit der Beschreibung ihrer Lebensweise. Vor dem Islam folgten alle dem Tengrismus, aber es ist wohl möglich, dass sie auch die anderen Religionen der Region kannten. Laut Marwazī haben sich die Oguzen Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts dem Islam zugewendet als sie mit den muslimischen Länder in Beziehung gekommen seien, von da an sind sie in den muslimischen Quellen als Turkmenen bekannt. Später haben sie sich mit ihren Verwandten auseinandergesetzt, die den Islam nicht anerkannten, besiegten sie und veranlaßten sie dazu, das Gebiet von Horezm zu verlassen und auf pečenegisches Territorium zu übersiedeln. Ein großer Teil der nomadischen Uzen hat trotz der Verbreitung des Islam seinen heidnischen Glauben behalten. Beweise dafür sind die Bestattungen mit dem Pferd. Im Kapitel *Politische Verstärkung der Uzen* wird die Geschichte dieses Volkes mit der Wanderung der Uzen aus dem türkischen Reich an den Flüssen Irtis und Sir-darja begonnen. In den ersten Jahrzehnten des nächsten Jahrhunderts befanden sie sich schon in der Nähe vom Abbasidischen Kalifat. Auf dem Territorium zwischen der Sir-darja und dem Aral-See gründeten sie im 10. Jahrhundert ihr Reich, das von einem sogenannten *yabgu* regiert wurde. Da fiel in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts der Qiniq-Stamm auf, der von Seldjuk geführt wurde. Nach diesem Abschnitt zeigt der Autor die Geschichte der Seldjuken bis zum Niedergang des Rüm-Seldjukischen Sultanats, als ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykawūs vor seinem Bruder, der von den Mongolen unterstützt wurde, ins Byzantinische Reich fliehen musste. Michael Palaiologos VIII. hatte ihm und seiner Gefolgschaft Dobrudscha angeboten. Unter den Leuten des Sultans befand sich Şaru Şaltuk Baba, der heilige Kämpfer, dessen Grabmal laut der türkischen Sagen in der Stadt Babadag in der Dobrudscha war, und wohin in der Periode des Osmanenreiches die Sultane und Weisire auf ihrem Weg zu den Schlachtfeldern nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres kamen, um zu beten. Die Wissenschaft betrachtet sie als Vorgänger der Gagauzen, die während des russischen Zarentums in der Neuzeit aus der Dobrudscha und dem Nordosten Bulgariens in Bessarabien umgesiedelt waren. Zum Unterlauf der Wolga und ans Kaspischen Meer rückend, hatten die nomadischen Uzen die einstigen pečenegischen Territorien eingenommen und beteiligten sich 965 am Feldzug der Russen gegen das kasarische Kaganat, dann 985 als Alliierte des Kiever Fürstentums gegen die Wolga-Bulgaren. Die Bedeutung der Uzen Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts wird auch durch die *De Administrando imperio* bewiesen, in dem Sinne, dass sie sowohl den Pečenegen, als auch den Kasaren bedrohten. Nach 985 figurieren die Uzen mehrere Jahrzehnte lang in den russischen Quellen nicht, diese Absenz deutet nach einigen Forschern auf innere Streitigkeiten hin. Im 11. Jahrhundert übten die Kumanen Druck auf die Uzen aus, worauf sie ihrerseits die Pečenegen angriffen, ein Teil von diesen flüchtete unter der Führung von Kegen und Tiräk auf byzantinisches Territorium. Wegen der Niederlage durch die Russen (1055, 1060), und aus Angst vor den Kumanen, setzten die Uzen 1064 über die Donau. Wegen des kalten Winters kehrten einige von ihnen in Gebiete nördlich der Donau zurück. Andere fielen dem Hunger, den

Seuchen und den Grenzwachen der Pečenegen zum Opfer, die Überlebenden stellten sich in den Dienst der Byzantiner wofür sie in Makedonien Gebiete bekamen. Doch erwiesen sich die neuen Untertanen in verschiedenen Kämpfen als unzuverlässig. Im Kampf gegen die Seldjuken aus Manzikert hatten sie mit ihren Verwandten fraternisiert. Nördlich der unteren Donau hatten sich die Uzen in russischen Dienst gestellt, und verteidigten die südliche Grenze der Fürstentümer gegen die Kumanen. Die Idee, dass die Leute "mit der schwarzen Pelzmütze", wie sie in den russischen Quellen 1146 erschienen, Reste der Pečenegen, Berendeien und Uzen aus der Steppe sind, lehnt Spinei ab, da bis 1206 die drei Völker oft zusammen "mit der schwarzen Pelzmütze" erwähnt sind, jedoch getrennt von ihnen, mit anderen Benennungen versehen. Schliesslich gingen die Uzen in den größeren Bevölkerungen, mit denen sie lebten, auf.

Das Kapitel *Die Kumanen* beginnt ebenso mit der Auflistung der Volksnamen,¹⁷ dann erwähnt er ihr bedeutendes Sprachdenkmal, den *Codex Cumanicus*. Bezüglich der *Lebensform und des Wirtschaftslebens* hebt er hervor, dass die Kumanen neben der Viehzucht auch Städte und Befestigungen hatten und einen großen Einfluss auf die Handelstädte Saqsin und Sudaq ausübten. Im Sklavenhandel der Epoche spielten sie eine bedeutende Rolle. Im Unterkapitel *Soziale und politische Organisation* erwähnt er, dass die verschiedenen Sippengemeinschaften durch keine zentrale Macht regiert wurden. Erst in der Not oder bei Kriegszügen gegen die angrenzenden Gebiete konnte man Bemühungen für die Aufstellung einer ähnlichen Struktur finden. Im Unterkapitel *Glaubenswelt* werden neben der Urreligion auch ihre Beziehungen zu den großen Religionen gezeigt, sowie die Bestattungsrituale und die Bildhauerkunst der Kumanen.

Im ersten Teil des Kapitels *Politische Bedeutung der Kumanen* wird neben den Entstehungsgeschichte auch die Machterweiterung der Kumanen in der Steppe im Süden Russlands im 11. Jahrhundert dargestellt. Neben den Beziehungen der Kumanen zu den russischen Fürstentümern, dem Byzantinischen Reich, dem ungarischen Königtum referiert der Autor auch über die Bedeutung der Kumanen in der Geschichte des georgischen Königiums im 12.–13. Jahrhundert. Er nimmt an, dass die Kumanen schon im 12. Jahrhundert in der Aiyübidien-Armee tätig waren. Er hebt die Rolle der Kumanen in der Gründung des 2. Bulgarischen Zarentums im 12. Jahrhundert hervor. Er ist der Meinung, dass die rumänischen Aseniden-Brüder ihr Reich mit Hilfe der Kumanen gründen konnten, das bis zu seiner Eroberung durch die Osmanen existierte.¹⁸ Im Kapitel *Die Jahrzehnte des*

¹⁷ Bezüglich der Namen der Kumanen, neulich I. Vásáry, "Népnév és néptörténet (kun/kuman, kipszak, kangli, tatár), [Volksname und Volksgeschichte]" in *A Kárpát-medence és a steppe*. Hrsg. A. Márton, Budapest 2001, 186–195; L. Keller, "Qipčaq, kuman, kun. Megjegyzések a polovecek önelnevezéséhez," [Anmerkungen zu den Selbstbenennungen der Polovetzen] in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. Hrsg. Sz. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics, Budapest 2001, 138–147.

¹⁸ Im Zusammenhang mit der Herkunft der Aseniden sind die Meinungen unterschiedlich. Einige glauben an die bulgarische Herkunft, siehe D. Angelov, H. Hrisztov, D. Koszev, *Bulgária története* [Die Geschichte Bulgariens]. Budapest 1971, 36. Andere meinen, die Herrscherfamilie hätte kumanischen Ursprung. Siehe L. Rásonyi, *Hidak a Dunán. A régi*

Niedergangs vor den Mongolenangriffen zeigt der Autor die Bedeutung der Kumanen bei den Thronkämpfen der russischen Fürsten, sowie im Auftrag von Byzanz oder der Bulgaren in den Kämpfen mit den Kreuzzögern. Den Beweis des Fehlens einer zentralisierten kumanischen Macht sieht Spinei in der Tatsache, dass ein Teil der nomadisierenden Kumanen die ungarischen Könige in ihren auswärtigen Kampfszügen unterstützte, und ein anderer Teil dem Königtum durch seine Angriffe großen Schaden im Südosten verursachte. Der massenhafte Auftritt der Nomaden auf der Balkan-Halbinsel hatte ihre Militärkraft in der Steppe geschwächt, so erlitten die Stämme am Dnjepr durch die im Dienste der Russen stehenden "Schwarzen Pelzmützen" eine harte Niederlage. Die anderen Stämme aus dem Osten wurden wegen der Sympathien mit den merkitschen Herzögen von den Mongolen besiegt. Die Seldjuken hatten die Stadt Sudaq erobert. Ausserdem hatten zahlreiche Binnenkämpfe die Stämme Dörüt und Toqsoba geschwächt. Anfangs gelang es Kötöny¹⁹ den Mongolen, die die russischen Fürstentümer erfolgreich eroberten, Stand zu halten, aber später schwor er dem ungarischen König Bela IV. den Gefolgschaftseid, trat zum Christentum über und zog samt seinem Volk ins ungarische Königreich.²⁰ Die Kumanen flüchteten massenhaft in den Kaukasus, aber auch auf den Balkan. Spinei betont richtig, dass eine wichtige Anzahl Kumanen in den russischen Steppen geblieben sein muss, die mit der Zeit die dünne führende Schicht der Mongolen türkisiert haben. Er weist auch darauf hin, indem er die Tätigkeit des Kipčak-Zweiges der Mamelukendynastie (1250–1382) dahingehend auswertet, dass die Kumanen auch in der Geschichte Ägyptens eine wichtige Rolle spielten.

Am Ende des Kapitels werden die archäologischen Funde und ihr sprachlicher Nachlass im heutigen Rumänien präsentiert. Aus archäologischer Sicht ist die Identifizierung von Kumanenbestattungen nicht möglich, die meisten davon sind ost-westlich orientierte Hügelgräber. Im Hinblick auf die zahlreichen türkischen Personen und geografischen Namen in den mittelalterlichen rumänischen Urkunden, schliesst er die Möglichkeit nicht aus, dass Basarab, der Gründer des walachischen Fürstentums, kumanischer Herkunft war. Auch viele Orts- und Wassernamen Rumäniens sind türkischer Herkunft, es ist jedoch schwer zu be-

török népek a Dunánál [Die alten türkischen Völker an der Donau]. 1981, 135; O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), 373. Es gibt eine neue Theorie, laut der Asen und seine Brüder aus einer kumanischen Gruppe stammen, die sich von ihren auf dem Balkan Krieg führenden und von dort zurückgekehrten Landsleuten getrennt hatte und sich mit der Bevölkerung der Walachen, die noch südlich der Donau wohnte, assimilierte. Siehe I. Vásáry, *Chapters from the history of pre-Ottoman Balkans: the Cumans and the Tatars (1185–1360)*. (ms), Budapest, 45–54.

¹⁹ Zum Thema siehe Sz. Polgár, "Kötöny, kun fejedelem," [Kötöny, der Kumanenfürst] in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemről*. Hrsg. S. Homonnai, F. Piti, I. Tóth, Szeged 1999, 91–102.

²⁰ Über die Ankunft im ungarischen Königreich siehe L. Balogh, "Mikor költözött Kötöny kun fejedelem Magyarországra?" [Wann zog Kötöny nach Ungarn?] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 113 (2001), 53–61.

urteilen, wie auch bei den einzelnen Lehnwörter, ob sie durch pečenegische, kumanische oder osmanische Vermittlung in die rumänische Sprache kamen.

Das letzte Kapitel *Die Mongolen* beginnt mit der Darstellung verschiedener (mongolischer, tatarischer, merkitscher, kereitscher, najmanischer) Stämme. Laut den geschriebenen Quellen können zwei Gruppen voneinander getrennt werden: die Waldleute (in den chinesischen Quellen die wilden Tataren) und Steppenmongolen. Diese letzteren beschäftigten sich vor allem mit der Großviehzucht. Im *Soziale und politische Struktur* betitelten Kapitel unterstützt er die Vladimircovsche Theorie des nomadischen Feudalismus.²¹ Aus den Quellen konturiert sich das Bild einer fluktuierenden Gesellschaft. Die Staatsverwaltung war gut organisiert, an deren Spitze der große Khan stand, der vom goldenen Zweig abstammte, und welcher in der Quriltai (Reichsversammlung) gewählt wurde. Seit der Herrschaft von Ögödei (1229–1241) wurde der Kagantitel wieder benutzt, der wohl den Ahnen des Čingis Khan bekannt war. Die Mongolen betrachteten ihre Eroberungen als göttliche Berufung, den großen Khan als den einzigen irdischen Vertreter des Tengri. Diese Tatsache wird auch vom Brief des mongolischen Khans an Bela IV. bestätigt.²² Im Unterkapitel *Rechtssystem und Militär* werden die Zusammenhänge zwischen dem *yasa*, das Gesetzbuch von Čingis Khan und dem *biliq*, die Spruchsammlung des Khans präsentiert. Die *yasa* soll vieles aus den vorangegangenen ungeschriebenen Gesetzen enthalten, die *biliq* hingegen regelt die Umgangsformen, sie wurde von den Mongolen besonders hoch geschätzt. Der Militärstruktur widmet er viel Aufmerksamkeit, der waren ja die Kriegserfolge der Mongolen zu verdanken. Im Unterkapitel *Religiöses und kulturelles Leben* erwähnt er, dass die Religion der Mongolen der Schamanismus sei, aber es gibt auch einen obersten Gott und seine Verehrung, die des Kōk Mōngke Tengri. Von der religiösen Toleranz der Nomaden zeugt die Tatsache, dass viele sich zu anderen Religionen bekannten. Der Čingis-Khan-Kult war stark verbreitet. Dann präsentiert er die Religionspolitik der einzelnen Teilulussen. Im Unterschied zu den bisher erwähnten Wandervölkern werden die Toten zugeschauelt. Die Mitglieder der führenden Schichten wurden in den Bergen bestattet. Der Ort der Khangräbern wurde wegen möglicher Grabplündereien verheimlicht.

Die *Politikgeschichte* wird mit der Trennung der Mongolen von dem Stamm der Hsien-pi eingeleitet, dann präsentiert der Autor ihren Machtaufstieg bis zur Wahl von Ögödei zum grössten Khan. Hier referiert er über die Ereignisse der Kriegszüge in der russischen Steppe von Jebe und Sübe'tei.²³ Ein separates Kapi-

²¹ Dagegen gibt es Forscher, nach denen die gleichzeitige Verwendung der Begriffe Nomade und Feudalismus unakzeptabel ist. Siehe: L. Khazanov: *Nomads and the outside World*. Cambridge 1984, 1–14; I. Vásáry: *Az Arany Horda*. [Die goldene Horde] Budapest 1986, 165–170; Kristó 1995, 92.

²² Über den Brief neulich L. Balogh, "Egy 1237-es mongol levél," [Ein mongolischer Brief aus 1237] In *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. Hrsg. Sz. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics, Budapest 2001, 148–160.

²³ Dazu siehe L. Balogh, "A mongol támadások a Volga-vidéki népek ellen (1222–1236)," [Die Angriffe der Mongolen auf die Völker des Wolga-Gebiets] in *Tanulmányok a középkorról*. Hrsg. B. Weisz, L. Balogh, J. Szarka, Szeged 2001, 7–19.

tel wird den Kampagnen gewidmet, die 1236 gegen Ost-Europa gerichtet wurden. Nach dem Sieg über die Völker entlang der Wolga, richteten sich die Mongolen gegen die russischen Fürstentümer. Im Winter 1237–38 eroberten sie Rjasan, Vladimir, Susdal, dann die Städte im Nordosten. 1238 besiegten sie die Kumanen und die Völker aus dem Nordkaukasus. 1239 folgte Perejeslav und Černigov, 1240 Kiev.²⁴ Den *Kriegszug gegen Mittel-Europa* begannen sie vom Galič-Wolhynischen Fürstentum aus. Die Kämpfe gegen die Ungarn und Polen werden ausführlich behandelt. Es wird erwähnt, dass sowohl der Balkan, als auch die westliche Grenze Österreichs unter den Angriffen der Mongolen gelitten haben.

Im Kapitel *Die Folgen der Mongolenstürme 1236–1242* wird betont, dass die Rückkehr der Armee von Batu Khan nach Osten kein Zeichen der Aufgabe von Machtansprüchen war, als Beleg dafür steht der Brief von Güyük an den Papst Innocentius IV. Aus militärischen Bedenken von Joči gegründet, wurde das Ulus, später die Goldene Horde, zwischen seinen Söhnen in zwei Länder aufgeteilt: Der Teil von Batu, westlich des Flusses Ural, hiess Kök Orda, das Land seines Bruders, östlich des Ural wurde als Ak Orda benannt. Nachdem der Status der eroberten Völker innerhalb der Goldenen Horde gezeigt wurde, geht der Autor auf die Rollendarstellung der Mongolen im Leben der rumänischen Fürstentümer ein. Als sprachliche Beweise dafür stehen die süd moldauischen Ortsnamen Bascacouț und Băscăceni, die aus dem türkischen *baskak* (Statthalter) abgeleitet werden, sowie andere geografischen und Personennamen aus dem Tatarischen. Auf die mongolische Administration deuten die Wörter *tamga* (Zollgebühr) und *tarcan* (Zollfreiheit). Viele verschiedenen Quellen die mongolische Herrschaft in der Moldau und der Walachen. Die Mongolen beteiligten sich an der Gründung von Städten wie: Orheiul Vechi im Răuț-Tal, sowie die Stadt Costești am Fluss Botna. In der Gegend gab es eine rege Handelstätigkeit, wie zahlreiche Münzfunde bestätigen, unter denen auch viele Nachbildungen vorkommen, die hier gemacht wurden. Obwohl die Mongolenherrschaft 1370 beendete, kamen Tataren in die Bugeac Gegend auch in der Osmanenzeit und wurden dort sesshaft, entweder auf Befehl, oder es waren Nogajgruppen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts vom Wolgalauf wegen andauernder Naturkatastrophen.

Der Leser erhält einen gut geschriebenen und lesefreundlichen Aufsatz. Positiv gilt zu erwähnen, dass der Autor eine sehr gute Kenntnis der einschlägigen Primärliteratur und der fremdsprachige Sekundärliteratur vorweisen kann. Es ist jedoch zu tadeln, dass es so scheint, als ob Spinei die ungarische Fachliteratur nicht genug kannte. Trotz mancher Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten und Fehler anderer Art ist diese Arbeit mit vielen Illustrationen, Landkarten, Registern und einer reichhaltigen Fachbibliografie ein gutes Nachschlagewerk.

SZILVIA KOVÁCS

²⁴ Über den Angriff auf Kiev siehe I. Zimonyi, "Die Aussage eines mongolischen Kriegsfangenen zur Zeit der Belagerung von Kiev im Jahre 1240," *Chronica* 1 (2001), 52–66.

Commemorative conference in honor of a Hungarian Byzantinologist in Szeged



Terézia Olajos professor of the University of Szeged celebrated her sixtieth birthday not long ago. In her honor colleagues organized a commemorative conference. The lectures, supplemented with further studies, appeared in a complimentary volume.¹

Olajos graduated from the Attila József University (Szeged) in 1965 first as a Latin-Greek, later as a French teacher. Since graduation, she worked in higher education. Her scholarly work covers more periods. Besides dealing with works of antique and middle-Greek authors she has studied sources relating to Avars, Slavs as well as to early Hungarian history. The professor is highly praised for her scholarly activity both in Hungary and internationally. Besides her expanded research she gains distinction by her active participation in public life as well as her conscientious teaching. She can be reckoned as the most outstanding representative of Hungarian Byzantinology.

Her career is appreciated by Professor Ferenc Makk in the Salutatory of the complimentary volume. The volume consists of 12 studies dealing with various topics in Hungarian, German and French.

In the opening study of the volume (*Medieval documentary heritage of the Carpathian-basin*) Tibor Almási surveys the achievements of the last century of Hungarian historiography and source publication, referring to the various intellectual trends of the different historical eras as well as to the effects these trends produced on the exploration of medieval documentary material. The author remarks that the exploration of the medieval documentary legacy had been thrust into the background in twentieth-century Hungary, but that in the past two decades it seems to be moving from its nadir. Almási draws attention to three publication series: collection of documents of Sigismund, of the Angevin dynasty and that of Transylvania. From the three series the author considers the largest-scale enter-

¹ Kultúrák találkozása. [Meeting of Cultures. Festive studies in honor of Professor Terézia Olajos] ed. Ferenc Makk, Erzsébet Galántai, Szeged 2002, pp. 127.

prise – the Anjou collection – to be the most significant. He informs us that the series being made in Szeged aims at treating the archive source material known up to now, preparing a collection of summaries from each and every document that still exists or for the existence of which there is any evidence. The whole work will take up 70 volumes, 16 volumes of which have already been published. The author emphasizes the significance of the enterprise when expounding that at least three thirds of the documents in the volumes were unpublished. He calls attention to the fact that the work is useful for various social sciences since all summaries contain factual information valuable for historians, linguists, archaeologists and researchers engaged in social sciences.

László Blazovich in the chapter entitled "*Legal situation of free royal towns of the Great Hungarian Plain with special regard to Szeged*" raises the question of how free royal towns of the Great Plain adjusted themselves to other Hungarian, European and especially German towns according to the legislation. Following a brief overview of medieval urban legal development in Europe, the author traces the roots of legal development in the East back to Lombardy and to areas near the Rhine back to the tenth–twelfth centuries. From there traders and foreign merchants brought with themselves elements of urban law, e.g. right to personal freedom, right to property and right to customs freedom. Further development of urban law – according to Blazovich – was influenced by royal and noble decrees. The author takes the identities and differences in the unwritten law of Hungarian free royal towns one by one, emphasizing the role of Székesfehérvár and Buda. The chapter describes how Szeged gradually acquired its privileges, how it used the law of Buda under the authority of *magister tavernicorum*. Moreover, it analyzes the question of why the towns using the very same law did not welcome Szeged among themselves.

The following study takes us to another field. Jürgen Blusch in his work "*Lob als Herausforderung: Zur Laus Stultitiae des Erasmus*" examines the appearance and application of *laudatio*, a term often used by humanists, by the Flemish author. At the beginning of the study Blusch surveys the meanings of the word "praise" used in everyday, official as well as in literary language followed by an analysis of the characteristic features of "*laudatio*" by Erasmus. In Erasmus' work the personified *Stultitia* (Foolishness) praises herself, thus applying facetious *panegyricus* – popular humanist genre traceable to literary traditions of the antiquity – as *autopanegyricus*. Blusch undertakes to illuminate the connection between the various faces of Foolishness, which, in his opinion, demonstrate the different grades of mentality by Erasmus. *Laudatio* by Erasmus, according to Blusch's analysis combines the meanings of both *stimulus* and *provocatio*.

Gábor Hajnóczi (*Did a Vitruvius copy exist in the Buda library of King Matthias?*) studies the *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, the most important humanist library in Hungary. Researchers had already raised the question of whether Vitruvius' *De Architectura* existed in Matthias' library. Some authors believed that the ornamented copy made in 1463 and kept in Budapest belonged to the royal library. Hajnóczi argues that he can prove the falseness of this theory. At the same time he demonstrates that the book under consideration was given as a present for John Corvin,

son of the king, by the Prince of Milan and that it did not originally belong to the royal library, but by the token of the above, it finally was incorporated into the collection. The author believes his assumptions are verified by period architecture that shows the work's effect; he relies on analogies of court libraries of the age, saying that all but one period libraries possessed a copy. Moreover, he argues that on the basis of the existing volumes Matthias was extremely interested in studies on architecture. Thirdly, the author draws attention to the fact that Bonfini, while translating Filarete's *Trattato*, was undoubtedly using Vitruvius' work.

László Havas (Admonitions by Saint Stephen and their possible Byzantine background) surveys the Admonitions issued under the reign of the first Hungarian king and their possible Byzantine background. Admonitions (in Latin: *Libellus de institutione morum*) – according to the author – complies with the cultural standards of contemporary Europe: classic, medieval, European and at the same time characteristically Hungarian. Thought provoking though is the fact that the cultural change and turn towards the Western world seems abrupt. The author attaches oneself to the opinion of Gyula Moravcsik and Ferenc Makk, according to which, from an intellectual, cultural and religious point of view, eleventh-century Hungary was characterized by a Greek–Latin two-facedness. Analyzing Byzantine literature at great length with special emphasis on the genre of “royal mirror”. Furthermore, he demonstrates which Byzantine literary pieces affected the Admonitions. Nevertheless, the author agrees that Hungary even under Stephen's reign stood somewhat closer to Western European mentality.

Imre H. Tóth in his work entitled “Georgios Bulgarian Archbishop's lead-seal of Zalavár” analyzes a Byzantine question. The governing idea behind the study was an exhibition catalogue appeared in 2001, in which the image of Georgios' lead-seal was published, accompanied by commentaries. The publisher of the catalogue – Etele Kiss – traced back the finding to Bulgaria, its date of origin to 878. After describing the parameters of the seal as well as stating its provenance (Zalavár), Kiss mentions that two analogues of the seal are known, one guarded in Sophia, the other in Athens. Imre H. Tóth supplements Kiss' statements with data by T. Totev and I. Jordanov, on the basis of which seven seals of Georgios are known so far. The author recognizes the seal mentioned above as the eight member of the group established by Totev and Jordanov. On the other hand, he accepts Kiss' opinion which dates back the seal to the years around 878. Nevertheless, he refutes the statement that the previously mentioned findings of Athens and Sophia could have been Georgios' seal since there exists no likeness whatsoever to the other eight seals. Imre Tóth sharing Gerasimov's opinion maintains that the two findings mentioned by Etele Kiss may have come into being after 894 and they were Georgii Synkellos' seals who cannot be identified with archbishop Georgios. The existence of the seal raises important questions: when and how the bill got to Hungary or what kind of relationship might have existed between the religious community of Zalavár pursuing vernacular liturgy and the Bulgarian church.

In "*Greek language command in the West in the ninth–tenth centuries*" Ilona Jónás aims to provide examples of Greek language command of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian era. She points to Charlemagne, Louis I (the Pious), the papal court, as well as certain parts of Southern Italy as promoters of Greek language and culture. She calls attention to the significance of preparing bilingual texts in the West in the spirit of *translatio studii* announced by Charles the Great. He also praises the role of scholars and monks who since the eighth century labored in the rediscovery of the Greek language, culture and philosophy.

Zoltán Kádár's "*Philés, Bergikios and seventeenth-century French natural science*" analyses how the thirteenth–fourteenth-century Byzantine author exercised influence on western scientific literature of the sixteenth century as well as on fourteenth–fifteenth-century art. Philés's work "*Petri Zoón Idioétos*" (On Animal Features) is one of a monumental ethological summary. Philés not only collects but also systematizes animal features. The original manuscript did not survive, though 16 copies were made in the sixteenth century, eight of which illustrated. The writer of the copies was Bishop Bergikios (Vergecius) Angelos who worked in Francis I's library copying Greek manuscripts. The pictures in the manuscript in accordance with the texts present various fantastic creatures, who – according to Zoltán Kádár's research – correspond to the scientific standard of the age. Moreover, it is evident that the illustrations were influenced by observations carried out by natural historians on behalf of Francis I. Further analysis reveals that the Philés manuscript impressed the art, medicine and scientific life to a great extent,

Gyula Kristó in his study "*Rivers and Towns in DAI (De administrando imperio)*" surveys the geographical objects that in Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus' work helped to define the habitat of certain people. The author points out that in some areas the DAI uses exclusively names of rivers, while in other cases names of towns, thereby the emperor provides indirect data about the level of settlement as well as the nomadic nature of the people. Kristó supports his point of view with a series of arguments. He considers it natural that in nomadic life watering places were of utmost importance. Conversely, towns and fortresses in pasturing way of life had no real value. Further argument is that Constantinus when defining a habitat with the help of towns, always mentioned the activity of the people which required a settled way of life. Finally the denomination "nomadic" indicates that the emperor was aware of the differences in lifestyle of the two people. In his study Kristó provides further evidence for the nomadic way of life of the Magyars before their settlement in the Carpathian basin.

Ferenc Makk's study "*Hungarian people and Europe 895–1038*" discusses post-conquest Hungarian history and conversion into Christianity until Stephen I's (first Hungarian king) death, touching upon foreign policy stressing Byzantium's effect on the Hungarian people. He raises the question of why at the turn of the first millennium Hungarian people already settled and not sided with the West in the dilemma denominated "East or West" formulated in cultural religious and political circles. The author enforces his already articulated opinion that this decision was related to two persons: Prince Géza (971–977) and King Stephen (prince

997–1000, king 1000–1038). According to Makk, opening towards the West (970) was rather a political question for Géza since it was under Byzantine threat that Hungary tried to win the Holy Roman Empire's support. His son Stephen, however, when maintaining good relationship with Byzantium and when trying to strengthen external relations towards the papacy aimed at weakening German influence that had strengthened during the decades.

Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss in his work entitled "*Picti Agathyrsi* (Vergil, *Aeneis* 4, 146)" analyses the question of why the people of *agathyros* and God Phoebus were attached to each other by Vergil. Why did Vergil from among the many Scythian people chose exactly the *agathyros* as a companion for Apollo in the descriptive part dealing with the love relationship of Aeneas and Dido. Following an overview of antique explanations the author determines that neither of them gives a real solution to the problem. According to Szádeczky-Kardoss, examining the text from the angle of poetic context may be looked upon as the clue. Drawing a parallel between the characters we can see that Vergil formed Aeneas on the basis of Apollo's character. As a consequence, we have to compare the companions of Aeneas to those of Apollo. Thus, characterization of the *agathyros* cannot be explained as an illustration of the real ethnic group. By mentioning these people Vergil's objective might have been to create the impression of richness. Thereby, for the educated reader, he could easily recall the picture Homer painted before, depicting the richness of those who wore more gold than anybody else did.

György Székely's study entitled "*Cardinal Humbert struggle for Church reform and unity*" describes the struggle of the Catholic Church through the life and achievements of the eleventh-century cleric Humbert de Moyenmountier. The author describes Humbert's adventurous path of life, followed by an overview of the respectable cardinal's activity. He introduces Humbert's efforts to keep together the two churches (Greek and Roman) as well as his role in inducing the schism. Székely declares that besides trying to enforce the pope's primacy, the schism was brought about by not recognizing eastern church and state properly, not comprehending it, and thus by falsely interpreting its signs. Humbert became one of the most qualified ideologists of papal supremacy. Humbert became an inspiration for the canonic movement developing at the end of the eleventh century. Through his activity he played a role in proving the church's superiority against worldly powers. The complimentary volume ends with surveying Terézia Olajos' specialized literary activity compiled by Terézia Dér.

ÉVA TEISZLER

The French political parties in the colonial Algeria, 1945–1954

PÉTER ÁKOS FERWAGNER



There are many facts, events and connections awaiting scholarly scrutiny in the history of the colonial Algeria. One of these problems is the European population's political attitude and the preference of the parties after the Second World War. This study surveys the divisions, aims and electoral acts of the French parties in Algeria and through these it has also surveyed the popularity of the parties among the population.

We have focused on the parties' activities, their inner conflicts and their relations to the Muslims in Algeria instead of the history of society and economy. The main stress has been put on the parties and party-politics. Therefore some fields, have been highlighted, e.g. introduction and analysis of campaigns before the parliamentary elections, and reports of the constitutional dispute.

The starting-point is the East-Algerian rebellion in May, 1945, because this event proved that the French governmental circles and parties stick to the previous settlement and they are not willing to tolerate the secession of

the most important colony, Algeria and they step up against nationalist movements with fire and sword.

The following period offers several possibilities to look into the Algerian-policy of the parties. Politics was marked by constitutional disputes in 1945–1946 including the role of the colonies, their status in the future and the disputes around the Algerian fundamental law in 1947. The Algerian institutional system was formed in April 1948 when the fundamental law came into existence: the Algerian assembly ("parliament") was elected and it put an end to the endless constitutional disputes and to the referendums.

The political scrambles were sleuthed in the next thematic unit between 1945 and 1951. This period is relatively untroubled compared with the previous period. The parties sought their place in the framework of the colonial legitimacy and contended with each other for the implementation of the fundamental law. The questions of the reforms were on the agenda but the main issue, which determined the conflicts among the parties, was the ap-

proach to the reforms. There was great tension between the parties, their French leaders and the Algerian sections in the parties, and in the European right wing there was a dispute about what to do and how they should approach the original inhabitants politically. The period was finished by the parliamentary elections in 1951. This time – as before – illegalities were carried out against the original inhabitants in the second elective body by the government in order to prevent the candidates of the nationalist parties from getting into the national assembly.

Finally those events have been studied that made the inner opposition faded away owing to the acceleration of the decolonisation process, and on account of the colonial crises (Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco) in the European right wing and the parties concentrated on holding the achieved "results" and they were under the illusion that no reforms were actually needed in the calm Algeria. The 1954 revolt, which was inspired by the defeat of the French in Indo-China and the humming happenings in the North African protectorate, was an answer to this conservative policy of the parties and the settlers' attitude.

After the Second World War, the union of the parties gathered in the Resistance broke up. The nature and the character of the new government was the most important question then. The colonies played an important role in these enormous and momentous disputes, so did Algeria. There was an election in Algeria in the autumn of 1945, in which the communist party achieved a remarkable result. This showed that the European population was not in favour of the right and if

there was a party on the left, which gave the settlers undoubted rights in Algeria (ACP did this), then they would vote that political power.

The left (communists, socialists) had great success in the homeland so they absolutely outnumbered their opponents. Thereby they were able to make the first draft of the constitution. Both parties wanted to introduce wide reforms (i.e. the socialists wanted to bring in the one turned electoral system) but the right wing and the radical powers condemned them especially in Algeria.

The French population declined the first draft of the constitution – just as it happened in France – which could be understood as the first sign of a slow right movement. This became unambiguous by the election of June. Both the communists and the socialists lost a number of votes, however the right became stronger.

The ACP made the idea of an independent Algeria its own, because it sensed the political progresses and guarded it steadily in the forthcoming time. The other initiation was the unity of the nationalist parties with which it would have taken up the struggle more effectively against the colonial power. There were also vital disputes inside the other parties (especially among the socialists) but in the whole those won who wanted to keep the colonies. The draft of the second constitution, which was prepared for autumn, did not contain the right of secession from the French Union while Algeria continued to be an integrant part of France. The new constitution allowed special status to some colonial territories – because the referendum in October had already accepted the draft.

All political parties advanced their conceptions about the future of Algeria during a half-year dispute about the Algerian fundamental law. The most intense dispute was about the Algerian electoral system and the representation of the population. The Muslim population had the preponderance over the European population and the electoral system would have favoured the original inhabitants. Because of this, the settlers pressured the government and the parties accepted a law that Algeria continued to be the integrant part of France creating a group of departments and the two turn electoral system remained. Every French law was valid in Algeria as well. An Algerian "Parliament" was created but this only dealt with the financial and economic matters as well as implementing new reforms by the new fundamental law. However, both communities condemned the status law. One of them expected more from it and the other thought that it could loose its privileges.

The frame of the following period was the spring of 1948's election. The French government attempted to prevent the nationalist politicians from getting mandates. In favour of this they committed many illegitimacies and with this only those French candidates won who uncritically accepted the presence of France. Therefore, just a few candidates of the nationalist parties got in the Algerian Assembly. Those powers won among the Europeans who turned away the fundamental law. Thus that kind of majority received place in the Algerian Assembly who would have impeded any serious reforms brought in the country.

The political struggle smoothed down between 1948 and 1951. However, the parties continued their fight for the realization of their programmes and expansion of their party members. Time after time there was a drastic communists demand for the establishment of an independent Algeria and the creation of a new social rank. Similarly, they did not give up their plan to bring the nationalists together and step up as a union. The nationalist parties declined this initiative repeatedly. Apart from this, some approach was noticeable between the parties while the European population were definitely drawing away from the party, because they did not want to share the party's idea about the Algerian independence.

The tragedy of the socialist party was that while the moderate circles wanted to cooperate with the Muslims, the high-ranking officers of the colonial administration used unlawful methods against the native population. They expedited some minor important reforms in the administration and the education system, but these reforms were not accomplished because of the tough opposition of the right wing. The party's popularity declined step by step owing to the complete successfulness not only in the second but also in the first elective body where the settlers could not identify with the policy of the reforms.

The right wing was not as unified as many historians thought before, although their inner problems were almost the same. There were minor inner crises inside at the Christian Democrat MRP and at the Gaullist RPF when the homeland leadership wanted to make approaches to the political representa-

tives of the Muslims. This could have happened in the most careful way; the Algerian sections immediately gave in their objections to their party's leadership and threatened to step out from the movement. Consequently, the North Africans and the people of the motherland did not see the Algerian problems in the same way. However, in the end always the colonials' policy proceeded through their influential Parisian supporters.

There was an unlikely but no less important dispute inside the radicals. The most resolute protector of the settlers' rights and the colonial legitimacy, proposed a new type of alliance with the moderate nationalists at the beginning of 1951. According to their motivation, this would have been necessary because through this the two communities could come close together and the long presence of the French could be ensured. It should be emphasized that this so called "liberal" wing did not want to give expanded rights to the natives. It just wanted to ensure with other methods the "eternity" of the French presence - just like those hardliners who were not willing to negotiate with the nationalists and who stigmatised the liberals as a "separatist" in reply. A sharp dispute emerged between the two groups and they entered the election in separate rolls in 1951. Public opinion was divided by the two conceptions and because both wings had influential leaders the election ended in a "draw". Taken, as a whole there was no doubt about the victory of the right wing.

The growing colonial crises generated defensive reactions from the Algerian settler community at the beginning of the 1950s and the former dis-

agreements almost disappeared completely. At the same time the extreme left wing continued its previous independent policy.

The initiative of the ACP succeeded with the nationalists and they established a united front after the 1951's election. The reason of this was that the electoral unlawfulness of the previous years had been repeated in the election, which impeded that the candidates of the nationalists could gain mandates in the French parliament. It became clear that they could not defend their interests with the former method; therefore these parties thought that they would try to enforce the reforms. The Communist party played the definite role in the creation of the front, however the co-operation did not become successful in the end. The front dissolved by the middle of 1952.

The colonial crises caused different reactions inside the right wing parties. The intellectuals inside the MRP more firmly attacked the power politics, which the government represented in Morocco, Tunisia and Indo-China, and pleading Christian principles demanded more liberal approach. Therefore, the Algerian settlers harshly attacked these intellectuals. At the same time the traditional moderate right wing became stronger and those extremities that almost extinguished after the Second World War strengthened as well. On account of the Cabinet crises in France and owing to a swing to the right, these powers also gained governmental roles. With them that movement gained ground which was uncompromising and wanted to defend colonial interests at any price.

This kind of policy failed after the defeat of the French army in Indo-

China in the spring of 1954. Mendès-France – presented the left wing of the radicals – could form the new government, who signed the armistice with the Vietnamese in Geneva then followed on the reforms and gave internal autonomy to Tunisia. The French population of Algeria took these steps with mingled feelings. They admitted that they had to find the way out of the war somehow, but they could not ac-

cept that the prime minister would bring in such a risky reforms in North Africa. They were afraid that this so called "gracious" reforms might provoke the nationalists and they would behave more forcefully. However, the government was decisive in the case of Algeria: the Home Secretary announced in October that the presence of France "will be kept".

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Use A4 paper (210×297 mm). 12 point font-size, double-space and use one inch (2,54 cm) margins all around for editorial amendments and eventual corrections. If possible, use Times New Roman font-face, in other cases, submit the True Type font set in electronic format. Use minimal text-formatting (cursive), hyphenation should be switched off. Paragraphs are headed by Tabs, not spaces!

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